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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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25 October 1985

## EAST EUROPE REPORT

### POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

GDR-USSR NAVAL VISITS HIGHLIGHTED

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 34 1985 (signed to press 19 Aug 85) p 10

[Article by Comdr Horst Westphal]

[Text] Rostock-Leningrad, a course of unswerving friendship and comradeship in arms between the peoples of the GDR and the USSR, between the People's Navy and the Soviet navy. A course covering about 725 miles. It is a stable link of immediate importance which is based on revolutionary traditions.

In early summer 1985 both countries and fleets exchanged ship visits. In the almost 30-year history of the NVA it was the sixth official visit to the Soviet Union by ships of the People's Navy and the ninth of the Baltic Fleet to our country. This year the visits are completely in the spirit of the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitler fascism and the liberation of the German people. But they also mark the 30th anniversary of the signing of the Warsaw Treaty which laid the cornerstone for the most important peacekeeping military coalition in our time. Whether during conversations with leading personalities or when laying wreaths, inspecting ships, meeting seaman recruits and workers, visits in cultural facilities--the close relationship of both anniversaries was always underscored as was the most important task of our socialist soldiers today: constantly and jointly to undertake anything and everything to prevent a new genocide.

The Visit

Going to Leningrad was undoubtedly a special highpoint in the everyday life of the seaman recruits of the crews of the coastal defense ships Berlin and Waren and the underway replenishing ship Darss. For the comrades in arms from the GDR, who together with the Soviet seaman recruits protect socialism and peace, Leningrad is a worthy sight for honoring revolutionary traditions. Thus, even before sailing it was the stated goal of the FDJ organizations to provide the correct traveling atmosphere. The sailors familiarized themselves with Tanya Zavicheva's small notebook in which the 11-year old girl set down the fate of her family in these words: "Everyone has died--Tanya is along...." They became acquainted with the history of the 37-km long "road of life" across Lake Ladoga which for a long time during the fascist siege of Leningrad was the only link with the outside world. They became acquainted with Fyodor Dyachenko, the best sharpshooter of the Leningrad front and listened to the powerful chords of Dmitri Shostakovich's seventh symphony which he dedicated to the inhabitants of Leningrad...

Naturally on the morning of the departure the ships gleamed in fresh colors. The flag of the fleet commander, who was in charge of the unit, fluttered on the mast. Prior to leaving, Admiral Wilhelm Ehm, deputy minister and head of the People's Navy, addressed forceful words to the crews: "On behalf of our republic and its armed forces we want to express with this fleet visit, according to the custom of sailors, our thanks and our esteem to the Soviet Union and its armed forces which in the battles of World War II represented the primary force in the liberation from Hitler fascism and made the greatest sacrifices!" On the following day on the Tallinn plateau. Here in July 1906 revolutionary seaman recruits from the cruiser Pamyat Azova rose up against the czarist autocracy; here heroic battles took place to defend the city against the aggressors; here warships and support ships of the Baltic Fleet forced the breakthrough to Kronstadt in order to take part in the defense of Leningrad; here, in order to take up battle against the German navy in the Baltic Sea, here bold Soviet submarine pilots pushed through the mine fields which had been laid by the fascist invaders.

For a long time it has been part of the tradition of the People's Navy to pay military honor to those killed in action at the battle sites of the Baltic Fleet in the Baltic Sea. This time was no different: the crews went into formation on the upper deck. The band played funeral music. A wreath was put into the sea. The national anthems of the GDR and USSR resounded.

The next day the legendary fortress Kronstadt came into view. Kronstadt--the revolution started from here on 25 October 1917 (by the old calendar, on 7 November in the new way of counting time), and during the siege it continued as the secure outpost of the city toward ocean. At one of its forts there was an honorary formation of the Soviet navy under the troop colors. In front of the warships of the most modern construction which were in the background they greeted their comrades in arms from the GDR. Gun salutes were exchanged, the anthems resounded, the flag of the USSR waved on the mast. The reception ceremony for the unit of the People's Navy in the city on the Neva started and at the passenger wharf on Vassilyevski Island it reached its climax when the ships were welcomed by the commander of the naval base.

#### What The Chronicler Records

Anyone visiting Kronstadt and Leningrad thinks back decades. On 7 September 1928 Ernst Thaelmann went out in the Finnish gulfs in a motorboat. The crew waited for him on the bow of the Soviet battleship October Revolution. As a symbol of the solidarity with the German communists he was presented with a seaman's uniform and named an honorary seaman of the 5th naval company. Teddy, as Ernst Thaelmann was affectionately called by friends, steered the battleship for 3 minutes on a sure course. During a subsequent meeting he said: "Leningrad, German workers say this word with pride and love. Leningrad means: onward to new battle, onward to new victories." The chronicler records: The crew of honorary seaman recruit Ernst Thaelmann fought heroically in the defense of Leningrad. The October Revolution was constantly the attack target of fascist aircraft. In spite of several hits he shot down 11 aircraft and used its wide-ranging artillery effectively against the besiegers.

Ernst Thaelmann's legacy is more alive than ever among the NVA seaman recruits who are in Leningrad. In the contingent of the FDJ, which carries his name, all three crews occupy front places. And, thus, there was no question that being here as envoys from the land of the German antifascist they would be worthy diplomats in the uniform of the socialist GDR. The meeting with veterans of the Great War of the Fatherland remains unforgettable. Decorated, advanced in years and yet full of pep, they told the young seaman recruits from the GDR stories about past battles. And in the process they never forgot to emphasize the role of German antifascists. And repeatedly all came to the conclusion that is the duty of every generation of socialist soldiers never again to allow aggression against the progressive element in the world.

The living equivalent of this commitment emerges a little later at a meeting with members of a Soviet submarine school. Experiences are exchanged here about ways to become a highly trained skilled military expert, to adjust politically, morally and psychologically to the demands of the modern military system, and to achieve in socialist competition extremely high and repeatable accomplishments.

#### The Return Visit

A few days later: thousands of citizens at the passenger wharf in Warnemuende welcomed the crews of the missile-equipped cruiser Grozny--the initiator ship in the socialist competition of the Baltic Fleet--and the submarine chaser Neukrotimiy. Red flags waved, a music corps struck up. The chronicler recalls: what a mighty contrast to those days of August 1929 when the Soviet cruisers Aurora and Profintern moored in what was then Swinemuende. Measures by the police were supposed to prevent any kind of contact between the crews and the German working class. Nonetheless, comrades of the Red Front Fighters League on a crew deck of the Aurora succeeded in handing over their red flag with the clenched fist on it as a sign of internationalist proletarian unity. An episode from the revolutionary history of the German workers movement. Today's visit proves how far the wheel of history has turned forward in favor of socialism.

The commander of the Soviet fleet unit which came to Rostock in 1985 was the commander of the Baltic Fleet, Admiral K.V. Markarov. In an interview following his arrival he stressed the fact that "continuing the glorious revolutionary traditions of Soviet and German communists and the Soviet army and the German antifascist resistance fighters the military alliance between our allied fleets grows increasingly closer every year and is apparent in many measures in the direct cooperation between the armed forces of both countries!" Yes, they know one another well--the crews of the coastal defense ship Berlin and the submarine chaser Neukrotimiy. This fleet visit once again offered the opportunity to get closer to one another in comparing achievements at battle stations, at sailor discotheques, in sports and games, to measure strengths and to exchange experiences. In the process crew members recalled joint combat training during a submarine chase, during artillery shooting or during formation movement where they competed for the best placement. Joint endeavors which include cultivation of revolutionary traditions.



Today wreaths from the seaman recruits of the Baltic Fleet lie at the Treptow monument, in the memorial grove of the socialists in Rostock. Flowers from the members of the People's Navy decorate the monument of the victors and the 470,000 graves at the Pizkaryovskaye Memorial Cemetary in Leningrad. The words of the poetess Olga Bergholz are chiseled into the stones of this memorial: "...you who listens to the stones, know that none is forgotten, nothing is forgotten."

The seaman recruits of both fleets will do full justice to this legacy in the socialist competition with the slogans "Our selfless deed in honor of the 40th anniversary of the great victory and the 27th Party Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union" and "11th Party Congress Soldiers' Deed." They are of equal value--expressed in sailors' words: in line abreast--in struggling for the best accomplishments. Today as always.

12124

CSO: 2300/514

BULGARIA

PEOPLE'S MILITIA URGED TO IMPROVE ITS EFFICIENCY

Sofia NARODEN STRAZH in Bulgarian 21 Aug 85 p 2

[Article by Col Stoyan Tashenov, chief of the Directorate for Political Indoctrination Under the State People's Militia: "With the Criteria of Tomorrow"]

[Text] At the center of the political and organizational activities in the collectives of the People's Police at present is a reassessment of the style and methods of work in light of the demands of the Report of the General Secretary of the BCP Central Committee, Todor Zhivkov, to the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee. The results achieved during the first 6 months have been taken into account and additional promises adopted to successfully conclude the year and properly greet the 13th BCP Congress.

The national meeting held in the second half of June for the pacesetters in the 1984 socialist competition reported that definite advances had been made. Some 334 subunits joined the movement for model areas, posts, routes, patrols and services and 80 percent of these won a high ranking. Around 100 subunits were awarded the title of exemplary in sanitary-hygiene terms. Over 400 young employees participated in the movement for TNTM [Youth Technical and Scientific Creativity], in working out 133 questions of which 76 have been introduced.

The title of "Outstanding Person of the MVR [Ministry of Internal Affairs]" has been won by 588 employees, a second specialty has been acquired by 329, 311 have improved their education and 1,116 their vocational skills.

Savings of financial means have been realized valued at over 360,000 leva and there were over 50,000 man-days of volunteer labor for the national economy and much more for establishing good public order in the nation.

The successes are more than obvious. However, when viewed through the prism of today's requirements of the BCP Central Committee and the leadership of the ministry, they are not at all satisfactory in terms of their significance and particularly in terms of their direction.

The core of the socialist competition carried out in the People's Police must be comprised of the basic demands set out in the Report. This means that

there must be a more active effect on improving the organization of work, time must not be wasted and the key areas must be taken up first of all which are of decisive significance for success in the activities of the given collective. A purposeful, systematic and preventive check must be an irreplaceable trait in the organization of the socialist competition, all the more as a number of officials have not precisely carried out the obligations entrusted to them by the instructions and regulations concerning systematic control over the facilities and the standing of service.

The socialist competition can and should contribute to the bold and uncompromising disclosure of weaknesses in everyday work, it should encourage the overcoming of the fear to tell the truth and should point out the persons guilty of failures. It can be even more beneficial in the struggle for strong prescribed order and unswerving discipline. It has long been confirmed that the collectives which allow flagrant violations cannot be ranked. This, however, is not the most important thing. It is essential first of all to eradicate the reasons for the violations. And this means that we must be much more widely concerned with the employees who abuse alcohol, who do not know or do not observe the regulations and instructions and who do not work for irreproachable professional training and exemplary conduct.

The socialist competition carried out in the People's Police can play a significant role in protecting and adding to national wealth. The realization of savings in the very activities of the People's Police remains an important task. At the present stage, however, it is much more important to increase the activity of the employees in performing their duties related to the security and correct functioning of economic installations, to overcome embezzlement as well as the complete harvesting and safekeeping of agricultural products. All employees who carry out their direct tasks in the sectors and enterprises where consumer goods and energy are produced must work to prevent deviations from the December Program during this difficult year for the national economy.

A basic place in the pre-congress competition in the People's Police must be given over to questions related to the maintaining of public order and traffic safety. The year is full of major mass political, international, domestic, athletic and other measures the start of which was the children's ensemble "Banner of Peace--Sofia '85" and its end will be marked by the 13th BCP Congress. The socialist competition must cause the full mobilization and additional unleashing of the creative forces of all employees as this will guarantee their unfailing execution.

These questions at present must be the basic content of the assumed personal and collective promises and where these have already been adopted they must be revised in the aim of making the effect from their implementation the optimum.

In order that the pre-congress socialist competition meets the present-day party demands, there must be a sharp rise in the organizational role of the solely responsible commanders. The experience of entire divisions and subunits with traditionally high results has shown that this has become a daily concern for them. This is how the work is done in the Okrug Directorate of the MVR in Pleven, Stara Zagora, Khaskovo and Tazgrad and the rayon

headquarters of the MVR in Sevlievo, Madan, Omurtag, Genral Toshevo, Mikhaylovgrad, six rayon directorates of the MVR in the capital and others which have been pacesetters for several years running.

The process of renewal in the People's Police demands that the socialist competition involve the young employees even more urgently. It can bring them into the foremost ranks of the fighters against crime and for strong public order and safe traffic.

Several times the comrade minister has raised the task of "breaking up" the so-called "golden mean" and including those employees who generally speaking fulfill their obligations but do not invest all their forces and abilities among the fighters for the highest results. Here specific promises must be given which would impel them to overcome inertia and develop as zealous fighters for the high-quality fulfillment of obligations by showing high initiative and creativity.

The competition is primarily the study, dissemination and repetition of advanced experience. This places increased demands on the various chiefs and particularly on the inferior collectives. It is high time to overcome the underestimating of the outstanding persons and pacesetters, to further initiative more so that each outstanding person helps train another outstanding person, each pacesetter helps a laggard and so forth. Such an approach also has a mobilizing effect for the pacesetters and outstanding persons themselves.

The socialist competition is a method for achieving higher results and it includes the fostering of as much initiative and campaigns as possible. For this reason, more effort must be shown to further develop the movement for exemplary posts, routes, sections and areas. This will have a beneficial impact on carrying out the task of setting up comprehensive systems for the maintaining of public order and the economy. Positive experience has already been acquired in certain rayon directorates of the MVR such as, for example, in Sevlievo. This experience must become widespread in the nation.

A main place in the pre-congress competition must be given to scientific and technical achievements in the practice of the collectives. It is a question of the rapid assimilation and irreproachable operation of modern equipment as well as the assimilation and application of new technologies and work methods. It is very important in summing up and reporting on the competition not to be satisfied just with a comparison of results from previous periods but take into account the actual possibilities of the stage and apply the increased criteria of tomorrow.

The international situation which has been greatly complicated due to the fault of imperialism and the rapidly changing operational situation in our country require that more attention be paid to instituting a political approach in daily activities. For this reason it is particularly essential that the socialist competition more definitely assist in increasing revolutionary vigilance, political responsibility, initiative and creativity of all the personnel. This will also be a decisive condition for carrying out

the party appeal for revolutionary thinking and revolutionary action everywhere and from everyone.

The basic tasks of the socialist competition are carried out in the grass-level collectives (the patrol, operational-investigatory group, section, division), that is, where the success of police efforts as a whole is forged. This requires that our chief attention be directed to the grass-level collectives where the activities performed are similar and comparison is most realistic. All political indoctrination must be shifted to where the employees are directly performing their service duties, to helping them in the very work process and to comparing the achieved results daily. This will be the main guarantee for the maximum mobilizing of all the employees to greet the 23d BCP Congress with proper police affairs!

10272

CSO: 2200/93

BULGARIA

# LACK OF SPARE PARTS FOR CONSUMER GOODS CRITICIZED

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 23 Aug 85 p 1

[Article by Radoslav Radev: "Trifles"]

[Text] A relative of mine has a leaky faucet in the bath and for some time it has been dripping, in spite of his attempts to completely close the tap. He has taken apart what he could and sought advice from an engineer friend and they established that it was necessary to replace a small part which costs stotniks or at most a lev. And my relative has searched for this in the spare parts stores. And it was a waste of time because the reader already knows that such a small part, alas, is not to be found. My relative got angry with the sales personnel but they admitted to him openly: Don't think that it is pleasant for us to anger you, simply the producers do not make such trifles. They do not because their economic interests dictate something else.

This "something else" means that if you have broken some device at home, for us it is better that you yourself cannot replace the broken part but rather buy the entire piece of equipment! Because, I see the comparison, in the first instance it will cost you 15 or 18 stotniks and in the second 25 or more leva.

The reckoning is both simple and clear. Here the example is a faucet in a bath but how many people are looking for spare parts for washing machines, refrigerators, vacuums, and so forth...we have stuffed our homes with so many electrical appliances in order to make our life easier and now we are obliged to maintain them.

But how can we if no one wants to help us? Or to put it more accurately, they do not want to carry out their duties.

This is valid not only for the goods produced in our country. If we secure imported ones, what troubles we have in finding a minor part later and without which the purchase stands like a mute monument to beauty or stupidity.

Certainly, we do not intend to generalize as it is possible to find a good deal of the needed spare parts. But why is such an excessively large amount of them absent on the market?

Who is responsible for this situation?

First of all, let us make a clarification. Each enterprise knows (or should know!) the durability of its articles very well. And this requires clarity on the service life of all the parts or assemblies: if a washing machine lasts 12-15 (and more) years, its parts wear out significantly faster (rubber, certain plastics and so forth). Is it hard to calculate on a scale of annual production what reserve must be released to the market so that the people can immediately find what they need? Not only is this not difficult but it is absolutely essential. Throughout the world this is precisely what they do. But what about us?

In our country, production of spare parts is planned but as a rule a number of them do not arrive. They do not because either the plan is unrealistic or it is not fulfilled. Thus, we reach a situation where we find shortages of various screws and nuts, pipes or fine wire, blades or piece of glass, a hot plate or rubber gasket or goodness knows what else. And when something becomes scarce, then there is room for the violating of ordinary ties, selling illegally, violating socialist morality, for the plundering of the citizens by facile swindlers who always succeed in anticipating the market conditions and getting the jump on the state bodies, get in a supply and make lots of money. Why? Because someone somewhere has not done his job.

Let us not overdo it but the lack of sufficient spare parts is to some degree a consequence of production carried out and an incorrect interpretation of the requirements of the economic mechanism. An enterprise director sits down and estimates from what the greatest profit can be obtained and in the shortest time. Naturally, the figures show that this will not come from trifles but from large production. And so he gives the green light to it, to large-scale production, and underestimates those trifles from which it comes. Thus, tension in the market is created, the mood of people is worsened, in no-way fond thoughts and conclusions are directed both at the producers and the merchants, and.... The time of the purchasers is wasted, nerves are strained, and at the homes expensive equipment and devices stand idle while the actual guilty parties pay no heed. Because, it appears, no one holds them strictly responsible or forces them to view their obligations from a high state, social position. And they should be monitored so that they produce a definite amount of goods, that without fail they supply the stores with the appropriate amount of spare parts which has been calculated scientifically and proven by practice.

It appears that it is very easy for some to adapt the economic mechanism to narrow departmental interests and thereby create artificial tension. However, one might ask: What does this have in common with the great purpose of the party line to constantly improve the concern for man?

The individual enterprises, the economic combines and trusts as well as the ministries must answer this question.

But of particular interest would be the word of the State Planning Committee and the Committee for State and People's Control because ultimately they have special rights and responsibilities in this area.

BULGARIA

# POOR RESULTS AT UNIVERSITY ADMISSION TESTS EXAMINED

Sofia STURSHEL in Bulgarian 14 Aug 85 p 2

[Article by Lyubomir Yanov: "From Two to Six"]

[Text] At a moment when the mercury in the capital's thermometers has reached this year's record for heat, the people who have crowded in front of the results put up for the candidate-student exams are feeling cold chills. This year the number of twos was staggering.

Even more awful than this temperature anomaly was the fact that a large portion of the "bad students" had come to this contest with outstanding diplomas or at least an excellent grade in the subject for which they now were eliminated....

Translated into a comprehensible language, the grade of "outstanding" will mean that the person holding it has learned absolutely everything on this subject. For him this science holds no secrets. So, if instead of the "six" his report card contained a five or even a five and a half, one might expect a few minor concessions. In the sense of wanting a little something more in spelling or a richness of language or style. But a grade of "six" is categorical!

And so it is. A little less than 2 months before, in presenting the diplomas to the secondary school students, our home school said:

"Go calmly into life! You know everything! You have taken subjects for which you have an outstanding and there no longer are any secrets!"

Naturally the serious student applicants do not stop with this. On the contrary! They use the time very actively before the exams in order to enrich or at least reinforce their knowledge.

There are few who rely on fate. Some take private lessons. Others memorize the textbooks from cover to cover. Still others go to the libraries....

Armed with the new knowledge which already surpasses the standard of "outstanding," they confidently glide their ballpoints over the white sheets at the university desks....



Several days later they see the grade of their work. It is a straight two?!

Translated into a comprehensible language, a "two" will mean that its owner knows nothing. If you know a little something you might scrape through with a three. But a two is categorical.

Let us admit that along with strict teachers, there are also more lenient ones. You will agree that certain teachers teach according to the bad system of increasing the grades artificially in order to judge their work from the number of outstanding grades. Certainly there are those who gave way to the suggestion of parents or even could have taken a bribe. But still there must be some exceptions. Yet the number of poor grades is as great as the difference between the "two" and "six."

From a journalistic quick questioning which I made around the lists with the results, I did not find a single one who got more than the sacred three without taking private lessons.

I am confident that this year many of the graders will find "candidate student pearls." And like traveling salesmen, they will show the editors for a laugh. And the nation will laugh. We will mock the fact that out of excitement or a desire for some more elegant maxim, the youth has made a lamentable error.

But I think that instead of seeking the paradoxes of the embarrassment or laughing at our future intelligentsia, might it not be better to give some thought to the paradox of how the six was turned into a two?!

What is the difference in the criteria between the teachers and the graders of the candidate papers?!

Why do the children go to school for 11 years, study their lessons, write their homework and take classroom and testing work?! What is this knowledge with which we fill their heads but they are unprepared even for a "three"?!

And what are these textbooks which even if learned by heart cannot guarantee a minimum knowledge for a three? Who writes them, who inspects them? It is said in jest: Is it necessary for the children to go to school at all, if a good private teacher is able in 2 or 3 months to prepare a student applicant excellently, while the school cannot do this in years?

And so be it. This year, let us laugh at the candidate applicant pearls! But with a salubrious laugh which will force us to do some thinking and about which Marx said that by it mankind parts with the past. Let the bad training and textbooks which cannot prepare the young people for an entrance exam also remain in the past.

10272

CSO: 2200/93

BULGARIA

# SERIOUS STUDY OF WESTERN LANGUAGES REPEATEDLY ADVOCATED

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 21 Aug 85 p 4

[Article by Lina Dodova, senior assistant at the Sofia Kliment Okhridski University: "An Intermediary in the Contacts of Specialists"]

[Text] In April 1985, an article "Language is the Window to the World" by Prof Anna Ilieva was published on the pages of RABOTNICHESKO DELO. This was a valuable and timely reminder of the great importance and utility of the correct teaching of foreign languages to our youth.

Stopping the teaching of a Western language in the secondary schools after the seventh grade is a major problem. Such a halt in the history of education in our country has scarcely been known. For years on end students took a Western language during the entire course of their secondary education.

In order for the teaching of a foreign language to be effective, systematicness and succession are essential. This basic rule has been neglected at present and as a result everything learned up to the seventh grade is forgotten in the remaining 4 years. When the graduates of the secondary school enter a VUZ, everything begins all over. Thus the teaching of a Western language to the students is doomed to failure.

Why, simultaneously with vocational training of the students in the senior classes, is initial vocational guidance not provided in the study of a foreign language which will be beneficial for the future skills of the young cadres both in the VUZ and on the job? All the more as the ideological indoctrinational aims of education oblige us not to allow the young people to "reinforce" their knowledge in a foreign language using advertising copy, the packaging of goods and pop music.

Let us turn to the experience of other countries and above all that of the Soviet Union. There the Western languages are studied in school after fifth grade and in the VUZ. We know how many diverse textbooks and aids in this area are published there, from texts for preschool age to those for the elderly. And let us take a look at the experience of other countries. In this regard, we will be helped by constant contacts with their specialists, regular reviews of magazines and publications, the following of experiments carried out and so forth.

May it not be that we are the only, or at least among a small exception, in stopping the teaching of Western language in the secondary schools.

The teaching of a foreign language in the VUZ is mainly aimed at the special assimilation of scientific terminology and the language of a corresponding discipline and in more particular instances both for more time and for mastering foreign language oral speech.

Our nation needs highly skilled scientific personnel who in growing contact with people throughout the world must not remain silent and non-participating in meetings, congresses and conferences due to their ignorance of a foreign language. For the same reason they will not be able to directly use foreign language literature in their specialty. For this reason the universities are confronted with the need for a new type of instructor with high professional skills as a philologist but also specialized in another scientific discipline. In addition to the direct educational effect which will be achieved, the demand for an additional skill of the instructors for language philology under the various faculties will encourage the chairs to which they belong to achieve the authority of the philological chairs, English, French, German and so forth.

There is also definite concern over the level of the foreign language training for students in the nonphilological disciplines. Why do they not have to take language exams as is the case for the other disciplines? This would mean the use of different instruction methods which would create an interest among the students to take on a greater load. With higher demands and with an increased number of hours even from the very outset foreign language instruction in a VUZ could commence simultaneously in two areas, on the one hand, mastering the specialized language and terminology and on the other, creating an ability with the spoken language. This would mean that the textbooks themselves would be written so that they had texts and exercises in the two areas.

The method of preparing textbooks for foreign languages for nonphilological specialties is of primary significance for the effectiveness of instruction. While in other disciplines the instructors give lectures and the students take notes, while on the philological chairs which accept students with a competitive language exam they go on to study phonetics, grammar, literature and translation, the foreign language instruction for nonphilological students varies. It cannot produce results without using specialized foreign language textbooks. Most of our VUZ already possess suitable and good textbooks.

But let us return to the concern engendered by the halting of foreign language training in the secondary schools. This is grounds for us to give some thought to its importance in the intellectual and all-round development of the youth and in achieving scientific and technical progress in our country.

#### Editor's Note

The view of reader Lina Dodova is the third article in the newspaper on the problems of foreign language instruction in the educational system. Let us recall that Prof Anna Ilieva for the first time acutely raised the question of the lack of systematicness in the curricula and the shortage of highly skilled

instructor pedagogues for Western languages in the small villages in her publication "Language is the Window to the World" (No 100 of 10 April 1985). After this in the letter of Kaliopa Apostolova from Aytos and in the opinion of the inspectors for English and German language in the Ministry of Public Education, Rumyana Todorova and Petur Stefchev (No 204 of 23 July 1985), again the incorrectness of the decision to end the teaching of a Western language in the seventh grade of secondary school was confirmed.

Today's article adds new features to the description of the problem, that is, language training in the secondary school is the basis for effective instruction in the VUZ. For this reason, we are convinced, the proposals and views of other educational figures and our readers will contribute to solving this so-important question of whether the school--secondary or higher--can provide a high level for the foreign language training of the specialists? In addition to this, we are also expecting the competent views from the leadership of the Ministry of Public Education and the Council on Higher Education.

10272

CSO: 2200/93

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PARTY DAILIES' SPECIAL PRECONGRESS SERIES

AU301517 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak both carry on 28 September, on page 1, a 600-word announcement by their editorial offices, entitled "meeting the 17th CPCZ Congress creatively with new approaches." After noting the tasks for the next party congress set by the 15th CPCZ Central Committee session in June 1985, and citing Gustav Husak on the role of the communications media in preparing for the Congress, the announcement says: "It is in the spirit of these demands that, starting in the middle of October, the editorial offices of RUDE PRAVO and PRAVDA will publish a special page every week, which will be devoted to an appropriate pregress platform -- to an exchange of experience, proposals, suggestions, and critical notes from our readers. It will be entitled 'meeting the 17th CPCZ Congress creatively, with new approaches.' The CPCZ Central Committee secretariat approved this plan at its session on 25 September."

The purpose of the project, the papers say, is to contribute to the solution of issues dealt with by the 15th Central Committee session -- the more efficient use of the accrued material and spiritual potential for speeding up the country's socioeconomic and social development via the intensification of the national economy on the basis of socialist economic integration and the implementation of research and development results; and the striking improvement of all management and organizational activity, of ideopolitical work, of order and discipline, and of the quality of all work. These tasks must be fulfilled, the papers state, in order to improve the standard of living and to "ensure the defense ability of our republic in the present complicated international situation."

The dailies then note that, despite the parties efforts, not all reserves have been tapped, not all shortcomings overcome, they cite as examples disorder and lack of discipline at work places; imperfect use of fixed assets; and insufficient valorization of fuels, energy, raw and other materials, manpower, and the employees' qualifications.

After pointing out the emphasis placed by the 15th session on the responsibilities of communists during the congress preparations, particularly at the annual members' meetings and in the activities of trade unions, the youth union, and all bodies of the national. Front, the dailies underscore that "the new tasks require new approaches everywhere

to the solution of all complicated issues in the struggle for better results in all work. They also require an unappeasable attitude toward everything that hampers our further, speediest possible development, such as obsolete views and habits, parasitism to the detriment of the state, formal approaches to tasks, excuses for shortcomings instead of action to rectify them, and so forth."

The dailies call upon their readers and "all honest citizens, communists, members of other political parties, people without party membership, people working in all and any sectors, to speak out on the issues that were dealt with by the 15th CPCZ Central Committee session"; and conclude by pointing out that "the pages of RUDE PRAVO and PRAVDA are open to all those who have the further successful development of our society at heart."

CSO: 2400/22

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SOVIET PUBLISHING HOUSE ISSUES HUSAK SPEECHES

LD272316 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1500 GMT 27 Sep 85

[Text] The Soviet Political Literature Publishing House has published in Moscow a collection of speeches and articles by Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic. The collection includes speeches and articles by Gustav Husak for the period between May 1980 and May this year. They mainly concern the results and tasks of building an advanced socialist society, social and economic development, experiences from the work of the CPCZ, and the strengthening of the international position of socialist Czechoslovakia.

The collection contains Gustav Husak's speeches at the 16th CPCZ Congress and meetings of the Central Committee as well as his speeches to mark the 40th anniversary of the culmination of the national liberation struggle of the Czechoslovak people and the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army, and on other occasions. Speeches of the highest Czechoslovak representative devoted to Czechoslovakia's foreign policy, Czechoslovakia's active participation in securing peace and ensuring international security, Czechoslovakia's share in strengthening the cohesion of the socialist community and the development of the fraternal cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries occupy an important position in the collection.

CSO: 2400/22

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

MARXISM-LENINISM CHARACTERIZED AS DYNAMIC IDEOLOGY

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Sep 85 p 4

[Excerpts] Lately more than a few observations have been made to the effect that theories about building a society are still not well developed. The reasons why some areas of theory lag behind the requirements of praxis are many. Sometimes it is due to rigid thinking, sometimes to mechanical repetition of known truths, with which one can correctly explain realities on a most general level in an abstract way but which are not sufficient to solve specific concrete problems, sometimes to a disinclination of theoreticians to approach new problems in new ways; sometimes to a lack of clarity of what the real theoretical problems are, which of them must be resolved without delay and which ones require longterm solutions. A socialist society is built on a scientific base from the beginning.

Science must play its creative role all the more now, during the stage of building developed socialism. That is why it must not only finish solving but also work out from the very beginning those problems which face social praxis. The mission of science and Marxist-Leninist ideology is to anticipate problems and resolve them with a certain headstart, such as will not cause a schism between theory and praxis, but on the contrary will show praxis the way or help to choose the optimal solution from a variety of options. The options may be not only different but may also be contradictory. After all, the progress of human knowledge has always been made by searching for ways and overcoming differences.

Marxist-Leninist ideology is not a once-and-for-all formulated and closed system, a treasury of ready truths valid for all times, into which one only needs to reach and quote. It is above all a scientific theory and a method of explaining and understanding the world so that we may be able to change it. It leads us to creative thinking, it is a complete opposite of comfortable reactionism, religious dogmatism, blind fanaticism, rigidity and mental laziness. It points out the connectedness and conditionality of events; it helps us to find our way in the maze of social processes; it is an open system of knowledge. Of course not in the sense that would make it possible to augment it, as is the aim of revisionists, by various theories of bourgeois ideology, but in the sense that it is not a compendium of unchangeable, absolute truths, that just like life itself it is developing and changing.



Such development, however, does not depend on the discretion of individual thinkers, but is a reflection of a truly society-wide development, is a generalization of the experiences of the revolutionary workers' movement, a generalization of the development of scientific understanding of society and nature. The real significance of scientific knowledge lies in gaining an ever greater potential for changing the world in accordance with objective laws of natural historical development, for the benefit of the proletariat, society and all mankind. A conscious transformation of society is the most ambitious task that mankind has ever undertaken. To accomplish such a task, there needs to be, above all, other than an ever developing knowledge, a guiding organizational activity by those who are themselves subject to that transformation.

Historical experiences in Czechoslovakia in the years 1968-1969 again proved that straying from Leninist ideologically theoretical, political and organizational principles of the building and the activities of the communist party in no way leads to its improvement, as was proclaimed by rightist revisionists, but rather to an effort to deny all the revolutionary traditions of the party and its Marxist-Leninist program principles, and to transform it into some nationalistic, chauvinistic and anti-soviet group under the name KSC.

Marxist-Leninist ideology and science have never been and never will be an unquestioned development of knowledge which would amplify in a simple way the true system of known basic laws, verified through praxis. To prove this thesis by examples from the history of the development of Marxism-Leninism would be superfluous. When resolving situations using fundamental communistic principles, the result is not a compromise between differing opinions, but a dialectic resolution of conflict whereby science increases knowledge and praxis verifies the possibilities of utilization without taking a priori positions.

In a socialist society the development of science is a direct component of political strategy. Errors in theory may retard societal praxis, on the other hand, the pressure of societal praxis on theory does not necessarily always have an optimal stimulating effect. Even at the present stage there is, no doubt, unused potential both in theory and in praxis.

In the optimal case, at stake will be a relatively total realization of natural historical laws of social development and, at the same time, a relatively total utilization of this knowledge. It has to be pointed out, however, that in all circumstances we are talking only about relative totality, which will be carried out in a never-ending process of development of nature, society and human knowledge. As V.I. Lenin emphasized, "truth is a process."

Socialist society today is being built actively and determinedly by people who not only are convinced of the historical correctness of Marxist-Leninist ideas, but also have their own experience with their successful, practical realization.

Having learned from experience, we must not allow repetition of past mistakes, particularly volunteered promises of unrealizable successes, or opportunistic excuses pleading objective obstacles. Objective limits of development possibilities exist, of course. It is necessary to determine them as precisely as possible for each stage. Within these limits, however, it is essential to pursue all possibilities.

The singularity of the contemporary stage of development of our society lies in the fact that its continued growth is possible only through the development of each person, through upgrading their education, culture, ideological persuasion, at the same time improving their living standard, the quality of their life style, increasing their enjoyment of life, satisfaction with their work and appreciation of their contribution to society.

12605

CSO: 2400/581

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION WORK REVIEWED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Sep 85 p 5

[Article by Josef Jirat, engineer, candidate of sciences, Czech Planning Commission: "Actively in the Area of Protecting the Environment"]

[Text] Czechoslovakia, as is the case in the majority of countries with progressive economic development, has problems with minimizing the negative impact of this development upon the environment. The atmosphere is most seriously disrupted, since our economy continues to use many primary energy sources. The growing standard of living, production which is demanding with respect to water consumption, the slow introduction of industrial technologies which generate little or no waste result in higher quantities and higher degrees of pollution of wastewaters, surface waters and groundwater.

A contribution in this regard is also made by the development of agriculture and its transition to large-scale forms of production, accompanied by the intensive utilization of fertilizer and herbicides on large areas. Similar results are also the consequence of the liquidation and utilization of waste products where, for the time being the predominant practice is the extensive storing of these products in dumps. As transportation grows, the need to radically solve the problem of protecting the populace against excessive noise comes to the fore.

State and party organs, knowing that further successes in the development of socialist society are connected also with the status of the environment adopted fundamental specific measures with respect to protecting the environment for the period of the 7th Five-Year Plan. The balance of their realization, which is part and parcel of the preparations for the proposed plan for the 8th Five-Year Plan, shows that we can attain quantitative as well as qualitative improvements in comparison with the past decade, primarily through investments.

During the period listed more than 300 investment projects (valued at more than 2 million korunas each) having to do with protection of water, the cleanliness of the air and the utilization or liquidation of waste products were initiated and will ultimately cost more than 8 billion korunas.

Half of the projects and the largest share of funds were aimed at solving problems having to do with protecting the atmosphere. A long development phase of measures designed to reduce emissions of sulfur dioxide in the air was roughly concluded. The year before last an extraordinarily costly capital project was initiated at the 200-MW electric power bloc of the Tusimice II Power Plant (according to Soviet technical plans), namely the construction of an experimental sulfur-removal facility. Costs for the project are exceeding 1 billion korunas. Over a period of 3 years and at a cost of 165 million korunas a facility for removing sulfur from expansion gases and the elimination of penetrating stench was built at the "Antonin Zapotocky" Fuels Combine at Usti nad Labem. At the tube mill and at the Chomutov Ironworks a sulfur-removal facility for generator gases was completed. The realization of an innovative program involving fly ash separators in the production facilities of the Czech Energy Enterprises resulted in reducing fly ash emissions in the Czech Socialist Republic by virtually 100,000 tons annually. Many operations, particularly within the jurisdiction of the construction industry, the health industry, as well as agriculture and food, were converted to the use of gas and thus frequently significant sources of air pollution were removed.

Extensive investments have increased the effectivity of protecting the cleanliness of water. More than 100 projects were completed, whose construction had been initiated during the 6th Five-Year Plan. Among the most significant is, for example, the reconstruction of the municipal water purification system for wastewater in Prague, costing 300 million korunas, a washing line at the South Bohemian Paper Mill at Vetrni, the first stage of a cleansing plant at the East Bohemian Chemical Plants at Pardubice and similar municipal facilities at Domazlice, As, Hodonin, Jesenik and in other locations. Simultaneously, construction of a water purification facility for mine waters from the North Bohemian Brown Coal Basin, a central decontamination station in the uranium mines at Hamr na Jezere and municipal water purification facilities at Spindleruv Mlyn, Hulin, Klatovy, Marianske Lazne, Chrudim, Havlickuv Brod and Cesky Krumlov.

Investments in facilities having to do with the liquidation and utilization of solid municipal waste were increased. Construction was begun of a processing facility at Kuncice, costing more than 300 million korunas. In Brno an incinerator is being built at the cost of 350 million korunas and many centrally managed waste disposal sites. More and more the vicinities of new highway routes and particularly exposed public buildings are the sites of various protective projects. Bypass highways around cities are on the increase. All of this is done in order to reduce the excessive noise level.

The above-listed projects are, for the time being, only preliminary and fragmentary examples of the results which we have attained in actively solving the problem of protecting the environment during the present 5-year plan. A comprehensive and definitive enumeration will be even more favorable.

5911  
CSO: 2400/9

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BUYING ABROAD, CONSUMERISM CRITICIZED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Sep 85 p 3

[Text] Two families met in the compartment of an express train. "We were in the south. Well, it was a perfect vacation. True, we had to dish out eleven thousand, but look here: we have ski boots, a winter parka, three pairs of 'Adidas...'" "And we were in the north. Do make a point of coming over and seeing what we brought. And if you ever go that way, we can tell you in which stores the shopping is best..."

Their mouths were throwing around thousands of crowns. These "travellers" were probably on familiar terms with all the department stores in all the countries they visited, and when the spoils were all wrapped up and ready for shipment, they were assessing their catch. No mention of the countryside, the sea, the towns, the people, nature. Descriptions of their experiences were replaced by a strange game resembling a battle of merchant ships.

True, on a vacation we usually allow ourselves to spend more than we usually do, we want to rest up as best we can, devote ourselves to travelling, sea and sun bathing, get to know other countries and peoples, gain new strength and experiences--and then to share them with our friends, to relive over snapshots the best moments of our vacations. It is a pity, though, that many people only know how to travel on consumerist tracks, both domestic and foreign, and to measure the quality of their vacations according to how well filled are their luggage and the luggage compartments of their cars which grew fat with "souvenirs" during their trip. It would be a sad tachometer which would add up in these instances all the miles covered in running from store to store.

And so at the end of summer such "travelling salesmen" perhaps display to their friends something of their "import business" but at the same time they probably did not even taste anything of the local cuisine during their travels to far countries, and they gave a wide berth to fruit stands, because, as they would say, it would be a pity to waste money on something that does not last. For 2 or 3 weeks they prefer to eat food out of a can somewhere in a corner, so that they would have more money left for shopping. Their most important beach and most inviting art gallery are the shops and their counters. We can easily imagine such scenes: searing eyes of the parents scan the window displays, mental computers overheat with the onrush of price-tags to be processed, and the oppressiveness of the atmosphere is perceived and expressed only by the small, crying child as he is being pulled by the arms and dragged through the stores.

And these "master calculators" do not even have to travel too far. I recall a recent picture of just such a group, which set out to Postupim. When the holiday makers on the bus finished the hard-boiled eggs and took care of the cold wiener schnitzels sandwiched between slices of bread, they took by storm the local stores selling slicers, mixers, coffee grinders and goodness knows what else. Historical monuments were left alone, as the whole day's program was taken up with shopping. As if there were nothing to buy at home! That is contradicted by our stores full of foreign visitors.

12605

CSO: 2400/581

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

DAILY EXTOLS VIRTUES OF MILITARY SERVICE

AU021447 [Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 1 October carries on page 3 a 1,350-word article by Ladislav Sadovsky, department head in the Slovak Communist party (CPSL) Central Committee, entitled "Most Honorable Service." After noting that the beginning of October is the time when young recruits begin their basic military service, Sadovsky states: "It is a young person's natural aspiration to be a soldier. This is really so, whether we sufficiently realize this, or not. The soldier is the symbol of virile maturity. To have a soldier in the family is therefore also an expression of appreciation for the environments in which we grew up to become a person of such qualities."

Sadovsky then enumerates the important, useful habits acquired by a young person during his military service -- "order, discipline, and a collective way of life. He improves his physical traits and he learns how to act socially and how to fulfill his duties in an organized manner. He masters the highly efficient modern military technology and the methods of tactical fighting. Finally, he also matures politically, because he comes to realize more fully his civic responsibility for his fatherland and for its material and spiritual values." Noting that basic military service also provides lots of fun, new friendships, and cultural and sports activities, Sadovsky adds: "We know from experience that those lads are most successful in the army who show high political, psychological moral, health, physical, and professional qualities."

"Actually," Sadovsky goes on to say, "we cannot remain indifferent toward the phenomena encountered year after year by military formations when the recruits enter them. A considerable number of the recruits are obese, and have difficulties during the initial physical fitness tests. There are still many non-swimmers. The number of youngsters with poor health is on the increase. Mostly they are suffering from blood vessel, nerve, and eye diseases. But one can also encounter those who have already come into conflict with the law, for perpetrating felonies or offences. We also have cases of psychological instability and of moral defects. All these obstacles make it difficult for the military formations to master the adjustment process, and they are also the motivating causes of various incorrect views on the basic military service."

"It must be said," Sadovsky then points out, "that views which identify care for the young male generation with the mission of the Union for Cooperation With the Army (SVAZARM), are too narrow. It is true that, 2 years prior to the beginning of the basic military service, the SVAZARM is entrusted with the political and professional preparation of recruits; but it is unthinkable that, in such a short time, it can 'form' a young man whose personal qualities correspond to the needs of Czechoslovak People's Army. This requires a comprehensive, purposeful, systematic, and long-term approach, which corresponds to man's phases of development. This approach is meant to produce in every young man the intrinsic feeling and conviction that he is surrounded by all-round attention in the interests of preparing him as a citizen of the socialist state for the most honorable service in the Czechoslovak People's Army. To this purpose one must also subordinate the system of paramilitary education, the attitude to recruits' duties in the SVAZARM training centers, as well as the attractive farewell ceremonies for recruits, the informal contacts during basic military service, and the attentive care after the young men's return to their working places and homes. This kind of attention on the part of interested subjects in the society undoubtedly consolidates the attitude toward basic military service, has a positive impact on the fulfillment of duties, and expands the ranks of exemplary soldiers."

Under the influence of the favorable circumstances mentioned above, Sadovsky continues, "some of the soldiers in basic military service do not return to their working places, because they prefer to embark on a military career. Socialist society places a high value on such decisions, regarding them as an expression of patriotism, political maturity, and exemplary civic spirit. The military profession is a specific service to the socialist fatherland and to its working people." Sadovsky then says that army service is a nice and attractive profession with good prospects, as proved by the fact that military schools are full of students, and that sometimes students must be turned away because the classes are full.

Recalling the anniversaries of the World War II as connected with the CSSR Army, and the legacy by the fallen in this war which is being followed by the socialist society in the CSSR, Sadovsky concludes by saying: "Our people and their armed force -- the army -- are the reliable defense of our socialist life. Our army has all its needs for fulfilling its mission. Our class enemy has no chance of success against the armies rallied in the Warsaw Pact, the core of which is the Soviet Army. It is with this conviction that we recall and celebrate the 41st anniversary of the Carpathian-Dukla Operation and the Day of the Czechoslovak People's Army."

CSO: 2400/22



CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CSSR SETS EXTRA WORK SHIFTS FOR 1986-90

AU301505 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 28 September carries on page 2 a 200-word "(FE)"-signed report in the "in reply to readers' queries" column, entitled "Working Saturdays in the years 1986-1990." In reply to letters from Antonin Hlavac of Strakonice and from other readers asking about working Saturdays in the coming period, the report cites labor code article 83, paragraph 3, and articles 84 and 94, and the CSSR government resolution No 84 of 18 April 1985 as the basis of the following information:

The annual fund of working hours in 1986 is to amount to 259 working days; thus working shifts have been set for Saturdays which fall on 15 March, 5 April, 18 October, and 22 November;

In 1987, There are to be 259 working days, which means that working shifts will take place on 25 April and 17 October;

In 1988, there are to be 258 working days, which means an additional working shift on 9 April;

In 1989, there are to be 256 working days, which means an additional working shift on 11 March;

And in 1990 there are to be 255 working days, which means no additional working shift at all.

CSO: 2400/22

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

SESSION ON SOCIAL DEMOCRACY--Prague (CTK)--The CPCZ Central Committee's Institute of Marxism-Leninism organized on 17-19 September in Prague an expanded session of the international group for the research of social democracy, attended by representatives of Bulgaria, Cuba Hungary, the GDR, the FRG, Poland, the USSR, and the CSSR, as well as representatives of the periodical problems of peace and socialism. The main theme was "The Problems of Social Democracy and the New Social Movements"; the deliberations dealt with the internal problems of new social movements and with issues of their relations with socioreformist and communist movements, and were conducted in a businesslike and comradely spirit, providing a useful exchange of opinions on the topical theme and a number of methodological and factual suggestions. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Sep 85 p 4 AU]

GYPSY COMMISSIONS CONFER--(CTK)--The all-Slovak conference of chairmen and secretaries of the Regional and District Commissions for Issues of the Gypsy Population, held on 19 September, dealt with the gradual social integration of Gypsies. Kazimir Nagy, Slovak Minister of Labor and Social Affairs who attended the conference, stated that 225,000 Gypsies are currently living in Slovakia, which is 40 percent more than 20 years ago; despite this, 11,366 hovels have been bought and demolished by the authorities, and 816 Gypsy settlements dissolved. [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 20 Sep 85 p 2 AU]

TRAFFIC ACCIDENT FIGURES--Bratislava--Stefan Lazar, Slovak minister of Interior, stated at the 19 September session of the Government Committee for the Safety of Road Traffic that 11,729 traffic accidents were registered in Slovakia in the first half of this year; this is 1,497 more than during the same period last year. [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 20 Sep 85 p 2 AU]

DELEGATION FROM CAPE VERDE--(CTK)--Jindrich Polednik, CPCZ Central Committee Secretary, received on 18 September in Prague a delegation of the Party of African Independence of Cape Verde Islands (PAICV), led by Joaquin Pedro Silva, secretariat member and secretary of the party's National Council; the delegation is visiting the CSSR at the CPCZ Central Committee's invitation. The participants in the reception briefed each other on the CPCZ's and PAICV's activity and tasks and assessed the possibilities of

of developing mutual cooperation. They exchanged views on the current development in the world; expressed full support for the efforts of socialist countries and all progressive democratic and peace-loving forces in the fight against the aggressive forces of imperialism and for averting the danger of a nuclear war and consolidating peaceful life on our planet. The reception was attended by Alvaro Dantas Tavares, ambassador of Cape Verde in the CSSR. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Sep 85 p 2 AU]

SEMINAR ON REVANCHISM--Usti Nad Labem (CTK)--A 2-day national seminar on the topical issues of revanchism, attended by up to 200 participants and organized by the CSSR Socialist Academy Central Committee, was opened on 19 September in Usti nad Labem. The Academy lecturers will head the lectures of outstanding CSSR, GDR, Polish, and USSR experts on the goals of revanchism -- especially FRG revanchism which has become part of the official state policy and ideology, namely to liquidate socialism in the GDR and set up a "strong" Germany as an offensive step against the CSSR, Poland, the USSR, and other socialist state. [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 20 Sep 85 p 2 AU]--The national seminar on revanchism, which was concluded on 20 September in Usti nad Labem, was attended by experts and lecturers from the GDR, Poland, and the USSR. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Sep 85 p 7 AU]

DEFENSE MINISTER IN HUNGARY--Budapest (CTK)--The Delegation of the Czechoslovak People's Army, led by defense minister General Colonel Milan Vachlik, ended its official friendly visit to Hungary on 12 September. At the conclusion of the visit, M. Vachlik was received by Gyorgy Lazar, MSZMP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers. In a frank and comradely atmosphere they assessed the development of mutual contacts and pointed out the need to consolidate the defense ability of Warsaw Pact states in the current tense international situation. The talk was attended by Istvan Horvath, MSZMP Central Committee secretary, and General Colonel Istvan Olah, Hungary's Defense minister, with whom M. Vachlik concluded talks on the same day. The two ministers expressed gratification that the visit had contributed toward further consolidating mutual friendly relations. At the Ruzyně airport in Prague the delegation was welcomed by Colonel-general Miloslav Blahník, first deputy defense minister, and other officials. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Sep 85 p 7 AU]

COOPERATION WITH SYRIA--(CTK)--The CSSR delegation, led by Josef Jung, minister of interior of the Czech SR, concluded its working visit to Syria and departed by air on 12 September from Damascus. [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 13 Sep 85 p 7 AU]

LAO DELEGATION DEPARTS--(CTK)--The Lao Delegation, led by Sali Vongkhamsoo, Central Committee secretary of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, deputy chairman of the Lao Council of ministers, and chairman of the State Planning Committee, departed on 16 September from the CSSR after attending the session of the intergovernmental Czechoslovak-Lao Commission for Economic and Research and Development Cooperation. [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 17 Sep 85 p 2 AU]

MONGOLIAN OFFICIAL ARRIVES--(CTK)--Daramyn Yondon, Mongolia's first deputy minister of foreign affairs, arrived in the CSSR on 16 September by air for a working visit; he was welcomed at the airport by Stanislav Svoboda, CSSR deputy minister of foreign affairs. [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 17 Sep 85 p 2 AU]

NEW BANKNOTE ISSUED--Prague (CTK)--The Federal Ministry of Finance and the Czechoslovak State Bank have announced the issue of a new Czechoslovak banknote worth Kcs 1,000; it will be brought out on 1 October 1985. The banknote has a deep blue color; on the front side it bears the picture of composer Bedrich Smetana, on the reverse a picture of Vysehrad; its size will be 67 mm bh 157 mm; the text will be in Czech. [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 17 Sep 85 p 2 AU]

CSO: 2400/22

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

NEED SEEN FOR FILTERED TROOP SHELTERS

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 4, 1985 (signed to press 9 May 85)  
pp 209-212

[Article by Lt Col P. Lassahn, retired, certified engineer: "Systems for Cleaning Contaminated Air"]

[Text] In their efforts to achieve military superiority over the Soviet Union and the other socialist nations, military circles in the United States and other NATO countries are continually increasing their arsenals of weapons of mass destruction. Therefore, it is necessary to develop and employ troop shelters within arms and military equipment, field fortifications and permanent protective structures. This is to ensure that army personnel can remain within arms and military equipment, field fortifications and protective structures without having to wear individual protective equipment in the case of a possible attack by opposing forces employing weapons of mass destruction, and that they are always ready for action.

1. Troop Shelters

Depending on their structure and purpose, troop shelters are classified as follows:

- Type I--non hermetically sealable mobile shelters
- Type II--hermetically sealable mobile shelters within land vehicles (Type II.1) and on ships and boats (Type II.2)
- Type III--temporary protective structures
- Type IV--permanent protective structures

Type I troop shelters are those facilities which cannot be hermetically sealed or in which a hermetic seal is inappropriate. They are equipped with filtering systems for cleaning and supplying air. These kinds of shelters include tanks, armored vehicles and other combat vehicles.

Type II troop shelters are able to achieve a sufficiently tight seal. The necessary air is supplied via filter ventilation systems. These shelters include tanks, armored vehicles and other combat vehicles, special vehicles with enclosed superstructures, certain kinds of ships and boats, field fortifications, command posts and bunkers, medical facilities and permanent protective structures.

To say that troop shelters can be sufficiently tightly sealed is not the same as saying that the object can be hermetically sealed. It means, rather, that when a certain quantity of air is forced into the object, enough pressure is created to make it impossible for contaminated air to ingress into the interior. Hermetically sealed troop shelters must be constructed such that no contaminated air can ingress due to the force of the wind (or due to vehicle movement in the case of mobile shelters which can be hermetically sealed).

Troop shelters can be hermetically sealed by:

- tightly sealing all functional openings (entrances, hatches, doors, airlocks, windows, firing slits and gun ports, etc.) and technically necessary openings (penetrations for wiring, piping, etc.), and supplying a small amount of cleansed air
- supplying a large amount of cleansed air to a troop shelter which cannot be well sealed

Technically speaking, such a shelter is considered leaktight when an air supply of 3.5 to 5 m<sup>3</sup>/h can generate a pressure of at least 200 Pa within it. [See No 2 in Bibliography]

The amount of air to be supplied depends not only on the leaktightness of the shelter but also on how much air is necessary for fulfilling the combat task and for maintaining favorable conditions in which to perform duties, work and live. The following have a negative effect on the micro-climate within the shelter:

- the consumption of oxygen and the generation of heat, moisture, carbon dioxide and harmful gases by the personnel or by the motors, machines, assemblies, etc., located in the shelter
- the release of harmful particulate-carrying gases as a result of firing the on-board weapons or personal arms

Favorable conditions in terms of the micro-climate are [see No. 2 in the Bibliography]:

- air temperatures of up to a maximum of 28°C
- relative humidity of 75%
- an oxygen concentration of at least 19% by volume
- a carbon dioxide concentration of a maximum of 1% by volume
- a nitrogen dioxide concentration of a maximum of 4 mg/m<sup>3</sup>

## 2. Types of Filter Ventilation and Collector Systems and Their Construction

### 2.1 Air Cleaning and Supply Methods

Mobile shelters within land-based vehicles use various types of filter ventilation and collector systems. The following methods are used for cleaning and supplying the air:

Table 1. Terms<sup>2</sup> and Definitions

Term	Definition
Troop shelters	Examples of arms and military equipment, technology of a general description, as well as involving specialized and general systems and structures intended for the protection of personnel against weapons of mass destruction and having equipment for cleaning the air.
Air-cleaning equipment	All of the equipment and auxiliary devices used to cleanse the air of chemical agents, radioactive dust and bacterial aerosols from a probable opposing force and which are intended for supplying clean air to troop shelters
Filter ventilation set	A means of cleaning the air which comprises a filter ventilation system and additional equipment (air lines, overpressure safety devices, hermetically sealed doors, equipment for supplying air to airlocks, etc.).
Filter ventilation system	A means of cleaning the air which is intended for supplying hermetically sealable troop shelters with clean air and which generates pressure (dynamic air pressure) within hermetically sealed troop shelters
Collector system	A means of cleaning the air which is intended for supplying clean air to troop shelters which cannot be hermetically sealed and for ensuring a supply of clean air to the inside facial area of a protective mask.
Filter absorption system	All elements of filter ventilation and collector systems which are intended for cleaning the air of dust, aerosols, gases and vapors and which comprise a dust separator, absorption filter and, if necessary, special filters.
Dust separator	The element within filter ventilation and collector systems which is intended for cleaning the air of dust. Cleaning can be accomplished by means of filtration (e.g. pre-filter) or using mechanical or electrical dust separators.
Absorption filter	The element within filter ventilation and collector systems which is intended for cleaning the air of dust, aerosols, gases and vapors and which consists either of a permanent aerosol filter and an absorption layer located in a housing or of a permanent filter absorption layer or of corresponding replaceable cartridges.
Special filter	The element within filter ventilation and collector systems which is intended for cleaning the air of carbon monoxide and other substances which cannot be cleansed using other elements of the filter absorption system.

Blower	The element within filter ventilation and collector systems which is intended for supplying air to the troop shelter or to the inside facial area of a protective mask.
Blower/ separator	A blower which simultaneously fulfills the function of a mechanical dust separator.
Overpressure safety device	A device for preventing the pressure wave from entering through the air lines into the troop shelter. Overpressure safety devices can be equipped with a dust separator (e.g. the VZU 100 overpressure safety device)
Air throughput	The quantity of air which flows through the air-cleaning equipment in one unit of time.

- The air is cleansed of chemical agents, radioactive dust and bacterial aerosols in a filter ventilation system and supplied to the adequately hermetically sealed interior of the shelter.
- The air is cleansed of chemical agents, radioactive dust and bacterial aerosols in a collector system, warmed and distributed via distribution lines which can be connected to protective hoods or to the filter elements of filter-type protective masks for the troops or to special protective masks.
- The air is cleansed of dust via a blower/separator or another system, e.g. part of the filter ventilation system (without flowing through the absorption filter), and is either distributed, after warming, via distribution lines or supplied to the interior of the shelter (the blower/separator does not remove chemical agents and bacterial aerosols from the air and provides no protection against these weapons of mass destruction!).

In shelters with filter ventilation systems, e.g. in tanks and armored vehicles, the air which is supplied can be warmed using an air heater.

In shelters with collector systems it is possible to use part of the cleansed air for supplying air to the interior.

In temporary and permanent protective structures the cleansed air is as a rule blown through the filter ventilation system into the interior. Air heaters can also be used in temporary protective structures and, in addition, systems for cooling, humidifying and regenerating the air can be used in permanent protective structures.

## 2.2 Filter Ventilation and Collector Systems in Troop Shelters of the National People's Army

The modern arms and military equipment of the National People's Army are equipped with the means to cleanse the air and can be employed to protect army personnel from weapons of mass destruction. In so doing, both blower/separators and filter ventilation and collector systems are used. Blower/separators (air throughput 500 m<sup>3</sup>/h) cleanse the air of dust with 99% effectiveness but



do not remove chemical agents or bacterial aerosols. Therefore, in the event of the possible use of weapons of mass destruction by opposing forces, the crew of an ATS 59G artillery-pulling vehicle, for example, would have to shut down the blower/separator and put on protective masks or individual protective equipment. Such blower/separators are still in use as normal air-cleaning devices in some types of older-style armored military equipment.

In mobile troop shelters, various types of filter ventilation and collector systems are used. Table 2 shows the air throughput in such systems. In older-style arms and military equipment, filter ventilation and collector systems with a different air throughput can also still be used.

We will use the proven system in the TATRA 813 as an example of the use of collector systems. It has an air throughput of 50 m<sup>3</sup>/h and comprises the following main elements:

Table 2 Filter Ventilation and Collector Systems Used by the National People's Army, Listed by Shelter Type

Shelter Type	Type of System	Air Throughput in m <sup>3</sup> /h
I	Collector system	3.5, 7, 15
II.1	Filter ventilation system	100, 200
III	Filter ventilation system	50, 100, 200
IV	Filter ventilation system	300, 1000

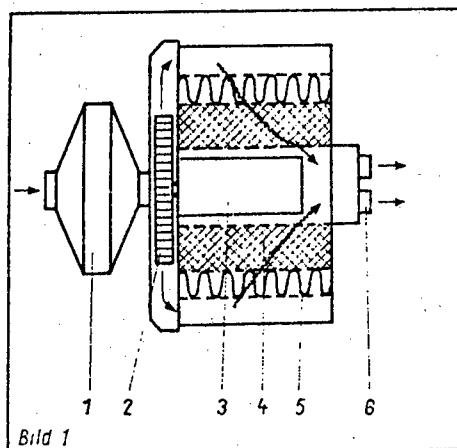


Fig. 1 Construction of KFWU 15 Collector System (schematic)

Key:

- |               |                            |
|---------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Pre-filter | 4. Absorption filter layer |
| 2. Blower     | 5. Aerosol filter          |
| 3. Motor      | 6. Distribution lines      |

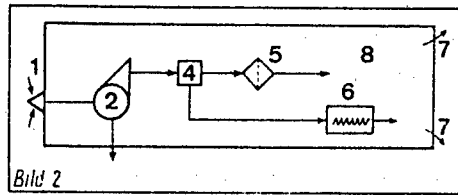


Fig. 2 Construction of Type FWU Filter Ventilation System (schematic)

Key:

- |                                      |  |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| 1. Intake nozzle with closure device | 5. Absorption filter   |
| 2. Blower/separator                  | 6. Air heater  |
| 3. Dust outlet                       | 7. Air exhaust through exhaust blower valve and leaks in shelter |
| 4. Flap mechanism                    | 8. Interior  |

- Blower with VA 100M motor
- FJ 50 filter unit
- Distribution line with electric air warmer and
- Air quantity regulation

The air to be cleaned is sucked by the blower through the filter unit and forced into the distribution line which contains seven connector nozzles for filter-type protective masks for the troops. In the distribution line is a five-stage heater with which the air can be warmed. The FJ 50 filter unit, which can be used in filter ventilation systems in armored vehicles as well as in permanent protective structures, consists of a pre-filter, aerosol filter and two absorption filters operating in parallel.

Collector systems for the shelter types given in Table 2 have the type designations KFWU 3.5, KFWU 7 and KFWU 15.

They exhibit compact construction (see Fig. 1). The collector systems with an air throughput of  $15 \text{ m}^3/\text{h}$  can correspond to those in the TATRA 813.

Type FWU 100 and FWU 200 filter ventilation systems (as a rule included in a protective system against nuclear weapons) are used in tanks and armored vehicles. They comprise the following main elements (Fig. 2):

- intake nozzle with closure device (immediate-closure, hermetic-seal flaps)
- blower/separator
- FPT 100M or FPT 200M absorption filter
- flap mechanism for switching back and forth between normal ventilation and filter ventilation
- air lines

The air is sucked in through the intake nozzle by the blower/separator. The closure device protects against the effects of the pressure wave resulting from a nuclear detonation in that it hermetically seals off the air lines if there is a sudden pressure increase. The blower/separator cleans the air with

great effectiveness and forces it into the interior of the shelter. The flap mechanism can be set so that the air from which the dust has been removed flows through the absorption filter where it undergoes complete cleansing (filter ventilation method) or else circumvents the filtering stage (normal ventilation method). In the "filter ventilation" mode the system is to be used only to protect against chemical agents and bacterial aerosols. Air throughput is 100 m<sup>3</sup>/h or 200 m<sup>3</sup>/h for filter ventilation and 200 m<sup>3</sup>/h or 400 m<sup>3</sup>/h for normal ventilation; the pressure generated in the shelter is about 350 Pa.

A Type FVUA 100N-24 filter ventilation system (Figs. 3 and 4), comprising the following main elements, is located in the LAK II enclosed superstructure which can easily be airdropped:

- PFA 75M pre-filter with FKA 75M filter cartridge
- AeW 100-24 blower with DW 200 motor
- FPT 200M absorption filter
- Operating and control panel with TDM 100 differential pressure gauge
- FR 81-F interference filter
- Overpressure and air outlet valve

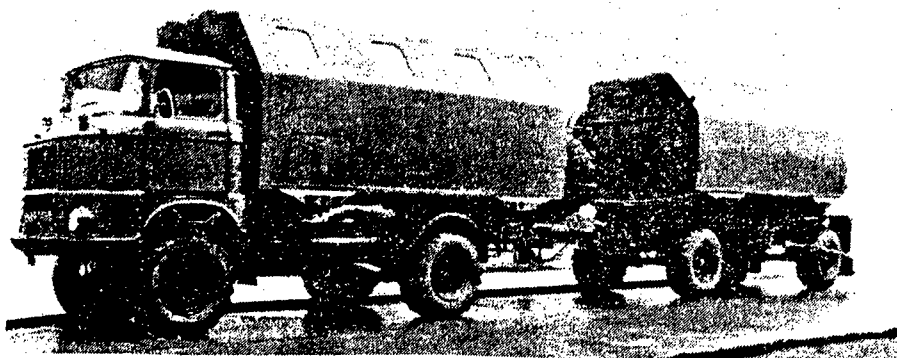


Fig. 3 KRCW [expansion unknown] Replacement Parts Depot in LAK II with FVUA 100N-24 Filter Ventilation System

The filter ventilation system is attached to the outside of the LAK II. The blower sucks the air through the pre-filter (coarse dust particles are already removed here) and forces it through the absorption filter into the interior of the LAK II. Within the absorption filter the air is cleansed of finely dispersed dust, aerosols, gases and vapors. The pressure in the interior is 350 ±50 Pa. The excess air resulting from the increased pressure is released via leaks in the enclosed superstructure or via the overpressure and air outlet valve. The air throughput of the FVUA 100N-24 is 100 m<sup>3</sup>/h.

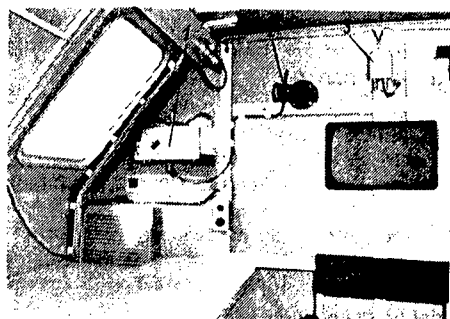


Fig. 4 Interior View of LAK II With Operating and Control Panel of FVUA 100N-24

Key:

- |                                |                                |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Operating and control panel | ventilation system             |
| 2. Air outlet nozzle of filter | 3. FR 81-F interference filter |

Table 3 Main Elements of Type FVUA Filter Ventilation Systems

Typ (1)	(2) Luftdurchsatz in m <sup>3</sup> /h	Typ des Vor- filters und der Filterkassette (3)	Typ des Absorptions- filters (4)	Typ des Ventilators* (5)	Typ des Motors (6)
FVUA 100N-24	100	PFA 75M FKA 75M	FPT 200M	AW 100-24	DW200
FVUA 100N-12	100	PFA 75M FKA 75M	FPT 200M	AW 75-12	MA22
FVUA 75N (oder W)-24	(7) 75	PFA 75 FKA 75	FPA 75	AW 100-24	DW200
FVUA 75N (oder W)-12	75	PFA 75 FKA 75	FPA 75	AW 75-12	MA22
FVUA 50N (oder W)-12	50	PFA 50 FKA 50	FPA 50	AW 75-12	MA22

\* Die Ventilatoren werden auch mit EV ... bezeichnet. (8)

Key:

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. Type                                       | 5. Type of blower*                              |
| 2. Air throughput in m <sup>3</sup> /h        | 6. Type of motor                                |
| 3. Type of pre-filter and<br>filter cartridge | 7. or   |
| 4. Type of absorption filter                  | 8. *The blowers are also designated<br>EV . . . |

Older-style enclosed superstructures can also have other Type FVUA filter ventilation systems attached to the outside or inside of the superstructure (Figs. 5 and 6). The main elements of these systems are shown in Table 3.

In temporary protective structures, e.g. in field fortifications (command posts, bunkers) and in field medical facilities, Type FVA 100/50 and FVA 50/25 filter ventilation sets with air throughputs of 100 to 140 m<sup>3</sup>/h and 40 to 50 m<sup>3</sup>/h respectively are used. A filter ventilation set includes a filter ventilation system, hermetically sealed doors, overpressure safety devices, equipment for supplying air to airlocks, sheets of gummed fabric and water-resistant paper for sealing the given shelter. The filter ventilation system consists of the following main elements:

- blower with electric motor and manual drive
- FP 100/50 or FP 50/25 absorption filter
- air intake device and
- air throughput indicator

The blower sucks the air in through the overpressure safety device, air intake device and absorption filter and forces it through the air throughput indicator into the shelter. The overpressure safety device prevents the pressure wave from a nuclear detonation from entering the shelter through the air lines; it contains a filter for coarsely dispersed dust. Finely dispersed dust and aerosols are removed in the aerosol and absorption filters, and gases and vapors are removed in an absorption layer. An air heater can be added to the filter ventilation set.

In permanent protective structures, filter ventilation systems are included in extensive protection systems (many different types of air-cleaning equipment, special filters and other systems) which are not described further in this article.

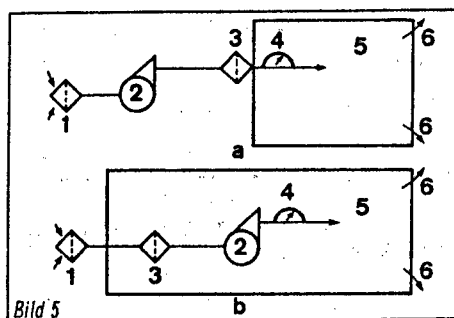


Fig. 5 Construction of the Type FVUA Filter Ventilation System (schematic)

Key:

- |                        |  |
|------------------------|--|
| a) Attached externally | 4. Differential overpressure gauge   |
| b) Attached internally | 5. Interior of shelter   |
| 1. Pre-filter          | 6. Air outlet through the overpressure and air outlet valve and leaks in the shelter |
| 2. Blower              |  |
| 3. Absorption filter   |  |

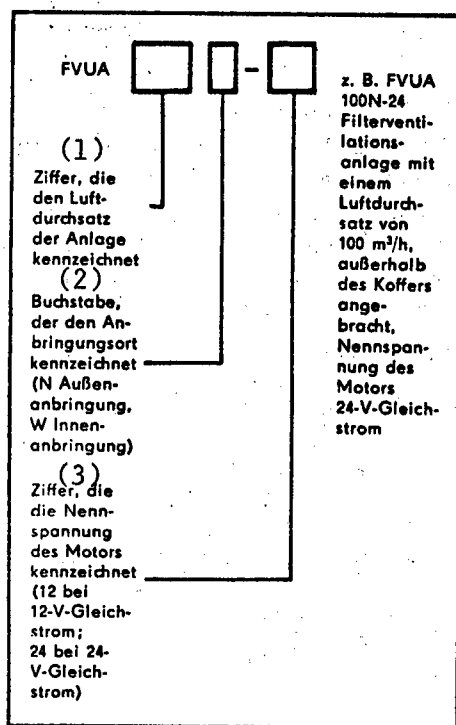


Fig. 6 System Used in Designating Filter Ventilation Systems for Enclosed Superstructures

Key:

1. Number indicating the air throughput of the system
2. Letter indicating the point of attachment (N for external attachment, W for interior attachment)
3. Number indicating the nominal voltage of the motor (12 for 12 VDC, 24 for 24 VDC), e.g. FVUA 100N-24 filter ventilation system with an air throughput of 100 m³/h, attached to the outside of the enclosed superstructure, nominal voltage of motor 24 VDC.

### 3. Tips on Using Filter Ventilation and Collector Systems

The condition and operation of filter ventilation and collector systems must be checked regularly at prescribed intervals in accordance with the operating instructions. In order to protect the absorption filter, the functional test must be very brief. In tanks, armored vehicles and hermetically sealable enclosed superstructures, the hermetic seal must be checked periodically, and if necessary the shelter must be resealed.

If air throughput indicators are present, blower performance should be checked. The pre-filters and absorption filters may not exhibit holes or deep depressions; their useful life of three to five years may not be exceeded.

The distribution lines must be kept clean and properly secured; they may not exhibit holes, cracks or twists, or bends with a radius of less than 100 mm.

Using filter ventilation and collector systems in the filter ventilation mode for normal ventilation of the shelter is prohibited. During operation the system is to be continuously monitored.

Should the filter ventilation or collector system fail, protective masks or individual protective equipment must be worn following the use of weapons of mass destruction. In hermetically sealed shelters, the maximum permissible period of residence as described in the operating instructions, taking into account the available volume within the shelter, may not be exceeded. Afterward the shelter is to be unsealed.

If properly used and maintained, these filter ventilation and collector systems, in conjunction with the shelter, provide reliable protection against chemical agents, radioactive dust and bacterial aerosols following the possible use of weapons of mass destruction by opposing forces.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Troop shelters on ships and boats are not dealt with further in the article. Used in them more and more are climate control systems comprising among other things filter ventilation systems, equipment for heating, cooling and humidifying the air, and automatic control equipment. [See No 1 in the Bibliography]
2. The terms given here are standardized and are to be used in all types of documents, in scientific and technical drafts, and in textbooks and reference works.
3. Because of imprecise transliteration of the cyrillic alphabet, particularly of the Russian letter "B" to the German "W" instead of "V", there are different type designations for the same filter ventilation and collector systems. Therefore, the designations most frequently used in the operating instructions were used.

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12552

CSO: 2300/511

HUNGARY

REVIEW DRAWS ATTENTION TO RECENT ARTICLES

Aczel's Reflections on Reality

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 26 Aug 85 p 7

[Article by K.S.; passages enclosed in slantlines are printed in italics]

[Text] Shortly after the party congress, the editor of the Warsaw POLITYKA, Daniel Passent, asked /Gyorgy Aczel/, member of the MSZMP Political Committee, about the last four decades, the turning points and the "successes and failures" in an interview that could not exactly be called in the best protocol. In the conversation that touched on the living standards of the workers and peasants, the problems of social democracy and the reaction to the new economic efforts, Gyorgy Aczel, in characterizing the critical point 40 years ago, primarily called attention to the connection that fundamentally determined the circumstances of the system's birth, by saying:

"An often recurring allegation in the bourgeois press is that the only reason socialism exists in Hungary is because the Soviet army is stationed here. It is our responsibility to remind them that in 1919, the Hungarian Soviet Republic came to power without a single shot being fired, at a time when the Soviet-Russian armies were hundreds of kilometers from our borders...The French and English bourgeoisie and the Northern and Central European 'democracies' unleashed a White Terror on our people which resulted in the deaths of over 5,000 people and the imprisonment of 70,000, after which more than 100,000 progressive, left-wing intellectuals and workers were forced to emigrate. The historic turning point that came about in 1945 with the victory of the liberating Red Army and its allies provided the first real opportunity for creating a new process for our people, the antecedents of which could be traced back to the revolutions of 1918 and 1919 and, above all, to the heroic experiment of the Hungarian Soviet Republic."

Nor is it any less important to evaluate the true essence of the circumstances which, after the tragic "social-political explosion" of 1956 with the defeat of the counterrevolution, permitted speedy consolidation, allowing the leadership to gain the "large-scale support of society". In this regard, Gyorgy Aczel observes: "We often do not look beyond appearances. It is true that the deep and, in many ways, justified bitterness of the populace was often manifested in tragic forms. And it is undeniable that the mistrust toward the leadership, which was incapable of correcting its mistakes and acknowledging its wrongdoings,



was also exploited in an unbridled and extremist manner by deliberate, organized internal and external counterrevolutionary forces. However, the shattered populace, whom we have sought to win back from the very start strictly on principle, were never equated with these forces. That we were correct is proven by the fact that the consolidation would have been impossible to achieve within such a short period of time had the Hungarian people rejected socialism."  
/(KORTARS, 85 No 8)/

#### Berecz on Party's Power Base

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 26 Aug 85 p 7

[Article by I.S.; passages enclosed in slantlines are printed in italics]

[Text] /Janos Berecz: On the ideological and political program of the 13th Congress and its representation in foreign propaganda./

A conference on propaganda was held by the MSZMP Educational Directorate of Budapest at which one of the speakers was /Janos Berecz/, Secretary of the Central Committee of the MSZMP; the full text of his presentation was published in the latest issue of the journal /PROPAGANDIST/. Janos Berecz reviewed the more important domestic political events of the past year, analyzed the interconnections of ideology, politics and social practice, the timely issues of social democracy, the relationship between national assets and socialist society, as well as the strategic problems of the international ideological struggle.

The lecturer devoted special attention to the much-debated theoretical problems of socialist democracy. The most important goal--he reiterated--is /"the development of society's marxist self-government/ by the enrichment of socialist democracy. In this regard, the party's leading role may not be questioned: the conscious activity of the party fixes the parameters within which society develops and socialism continues to be built. At the same time, the further development of the division of labor and social practice among the three institutional systems exercising power--the party, the government and the social organizations --is necessary. It is necessary to assert the party's leading role through increasingly activist means which by its nature is more difficult and indirect than direction from the heights of power. We must become accustomed to this; for example, it is important to adjust party education to this; we should not just teach and learn general theory and ideology but concrete political conduct --because the non-injurious dictums and especially the harmful ones will increasingly be viewed as abuses of power. /If we want to keep in step with all of society, we must distinguish ourselves with greater intellectual maturity, better style, and more active political work."/

With respect to the activities of the representative organizations, Janos Berecz further pointed out: "It is obvious that the representative organizations can no longer operate in this antiquated manner; a process must be implemented whereby the apparatus will become subject to the councils." /(PROPAGANDISTA 85 No 6),

PARTELET on Artistic Policy

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 26 Aug 85 p 7

[Article by E.B.; passages enclosed in slantlines are printed in italics]

[Text] The fundamental goal of the party's artistic policy is to create a favorable environment for the arts to fulfill their social responsibilities. Consequently, its position vis-a-vis the desirable artistic value system must be clarified, clearly formulating the trends and efforts it will promote. This was the topic of a roundtable discussion among noted members of the artistic community held at the editorial offices of PARTELET and moderated by /Sandor Lakos/, the responsible editor.

The discussion primarily focused on the issues related to present-day Hungarian arts. All the participants agreed that ideological orientation plays a decisive role in the establishment of the desirable value system, and that our socialist school system is called upon to lay the foundations for this. Thus, school education must impart clear concepts, convincing ideological and esthetic principles, and must present the works under discussion in the spirit of a value system built on socialist humanism. In connection with this, /Peter Agardi/, divisional head of the MSZMP Central Committee's scientific, educational and cultural department, said: "If we were to evaluate some of our new textbooks in light of these requirements, we would hardly be unambiguously satisfied. As a matter of fact, the conclusions and emphases in certain instances are positively astounding and shocking. Certain chapters portray a one-sided and distorted value system, totally contrary to our cultural and educational policy principles. One of the textbooks briefly and simplistically dismisses Gorky's novel "The Mother", which provided determinant central experiences for the generation of the worker's movement, as a weak work. Or, in a discussion about present-day Hungarian film directors, the textbook author mentions, similarly briefly, the young, talented and creative /Andras Jeles/, whose works were hotly debated, but the name /Andras Kovacs/ is not even mentioned; /Peter Esterhazy, Peter Hajnocy/, and /Peter Nadas/ are mentioned, but there is not a word about /Istvan Gall, Erzsebet Galgoczi/ and /Andras Simonffy/."

The participants in the discussion agreed that the existence of an idea which misleads an entire generation of future artists and their audiences may not be tolerated in the school system. Peter Agardi summarized the discussion by saying: "These types of distortions attest to the fact that while cultural policy does not proclaim a particular artistic direction to be the only redeeming one and even acknowledges 'neoavantgarde' achievements with prestigious awards, certain 'modern' esthetes and critics do not exhibit even the slightest tolerance toward realist works which are not to their taste." /(PARTELET 85 No 7/)

9956

CSO: 2500/543

HUNGARY

## IMPORTANCE OF FAITH FOR MARXISTS, NON-MARXISTS ALIKE

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 14 Sep 85 p 7

[Article by Laszlo Hovanyec: "About Faith Without Illusion"]

[Excerpts] Nowadays we frequently come across statements that question whether the materialist-atheist ideology is connected to faith. For example, we could recently read authors' statements denying the possibility of materialist morality, that atheism may have some relationship to ethnics.

It is indisputable that some variations of these declarations may also be fueled by certain confused ideas. We may read/hear daily about believers and unbelievers, collaboration, argument and dialogue, which takes place between believers and unbelievers. But are we really talking about believers and men without faith? Obviously we are rather thinking about the coexistence and cooperation of people of different faiths, both religious and non-religious; we are striving for the realization of productive dialogue between them.

From this point of view the conclusions of a sociological study referring to a survey are hardly tenable, according to which the religious person, because he is led by faith, is a more reliable worker, has a more stable home life, begets more children than the non-believer, thus is a more useful member of society and country. The parent of these kinds of conclusions is doubtless this fact of life -- otherwise not needing any type of sociological survey, since it is easily recognized by common sense, thus it is obvious for politics as well -- that the "faithless" man, without orientation and not belonging anywhere, will become more easily "lost," and his social-family ties will be much weaker. Current Hungarian church politics takes this into consideration, keeping track of churches and religious communities as forces of community maintenance, and as such, forces of social and national construction.

The subject of a really exciting sociological study could perhaps be this, what similarities (and of course differences) exist between religious and non-religious "believers." What makes them similar to each other regarding individual family goals, orientation, and attachment to society and nation?

One of our outstanding actors made a sympathetic statement to our church monthly paper. However, some details of the interview that appeared may be debatable. "Today the churches, regardless of religious differences, have a large role in uniting "lost" youth, and in the maturing of national consciousness -- declared the actor. -- It is also a worldwide phenomenon that youth is turning toward the church, because here it feels the radiation of a definitely crystallized ideal and system of ideals; one cannot live amidst contradictions or uncertainty."

It is a significant and happy phenomenon that the churches are turning toward "lost" youth, and generally toward the lost people and groups drifting at the periphery of society, and are gaining results in their elevation. However the matter is not nearly as idyllic as it would seem from this statement. We will mention just two facts opposing the statement.

The first: despite territorial gains by the newer religious manifestations, there is continued antireligiousness, the process of secularization in the more developed part of the world. The weakening of traditional religion is especially powerful, but in general the lessening of religious influence can be observed.

Civiltà Cattolica, the paper of the Jesuits, determined on the basis of a European study of public opinion that: "Since religiousness decreases as urbanization and education increases, European development in all probability will bring with it the spreading of antireligiousness, i.e. atheism."

Perhaps it is not strange that in diversely religious Holland -- where the Pope was recently greeted with negative sentiment -- according to the discussed study of public opinion, 43 percent of the population has left the church or does not consider itself to be a church member. However, it is cause for reflection that even in strongly Catholic Italy 16 percent of the population declares itself antireligious.

The other fact that certainly needs mentioning is that large numbers of young people are turning away from religion or never attain it. Instead of "faith" they choose a form of irrationalism that is totally against man and religion; i.e. a rather dangerous enemy of religious faith may arise within its own world, even within irrationalism.

The moderation or cessation of the influence of traditional religions does not necessarily result in straightforward territorial gains by rationalism in modern societies. Human groups disillusioned by modernization, civilization and certain of its aspects, by no means necessarily turn to "human-faced" religions. Finally: from the point of view of common sense, a far more desirable partner for traditional religious faith may be anti-religious faith, rather than faithlessness cloaked in religion, but denying all human values.

True, the two faiths differ in many ways but agree in many others, since both are based on the conviction that life is worthwhile since it is possible to live intelligent human lives, that human life can be improved here and now, along with man and eventually the whole world.

From the title of Mihaly Karolyi's (the leader of the autumn rose revolution) autobiography -- Faith Without Illusions -- comes a radiant moral, that from a certain point of view the twentieth century is the very bitter era of liberation (or rather deprivation?) from illusions for all of humanity.

The atheist-materialist world view and its Marxist, socialist, communist variations, have completed a greater -- at the same time perhaps more agonizing -- journey toward the liberation from illusions in this era than any other world view.

From a certain point of view, they are in a more difficult situation because of their rationalism. The above quoted religious actor speaks, among other things, of the following, "faith gives the believer a feeling of unambiguous inner security regarding the question of final things, as well as our own mission." One of our Marxist scholars recently wrote the following about this same question: "Much is said these days about the questions of death, of extinction. Unfortunately, a man of letters is at a disadvantage that can't be helped regarding this serious question, since instead of the resurrection, the next world offers as consolation "only" the survival of man's creations, and eternal life "only" through his descendants, children and grandchildren. But in the interest of the realization of a worthy life we must not underestimate the facing of these questions." At the same time he refers to the following "... we must reveal the beauty of scientific truths, the emotion stirring drama of scientific discoveries ... we are well aware that not only mysticism but rationality has its own pathos."

It is just this pathetic rationality that is the basis of the faith that is fed by the scientific analysis of historical and present day facts, and in its wake by the conviction that the future can be shaped in a way favorable to humanity. This belief -- because its source is the scientific analysis of society -- although it is without illusions, is a faith professed with self respect because of this lack of illusions.

12932

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HUNGARY

CALL FOR REALISTIC, CONSISTENT EDUCATIONAL POLICIES

Budapest UJ TUKOR in Hungarian 28 Jul 85 p 5

[Article by Laszlo Okros: "Let's Not Cheat the Young"]

[Text] Storms are raging around our schools again. We need only to glance at the newspapers and see the waves of debate are running high. They have been running for long with varying heat and with great fury from time to time. It was about 15 to 20 years ago that the schools entered on a restless stage of constant change. Many of the changes have created tensions among the teachers, decreased their self-confidence, and rendered uncertain the values that they had known. Schools began to vibrate and waver with nervousness. After a certain length of time the directors of education also realized that the situation as it developed could not be maintained. Not only because the teachers as a mass were beginning to feel bad but also--and primarily--the performance capability of the schools was declining as a consequence of all these matters. Society was also complaining. Since turmoil came after the constant changes, the task appeared obvious: cut back the number of changes. Quite a few correct and necessary measures resulted this way. But the debates which have recently flared--one of the important documents of which, for example, is the open letter of the Hungarian Kodaly Society--show that these measures have been too late or have not gone in the proper direction.

The decrease in the number of hurried changes is at any rate a good thing. According to a friend of mine who is a school director it was absolutely necessary to take these steps. But--he says--it is not the volume that is the most important here. Look--he went on to explain--I did not participate in the decisionmaking when the reforms were prepared. But from studying the documents and the subsequent measures and from analyzing the entire process I arrived at the conclusion that the trouble may have occurred right at the start: they did not succeed in establishing the foundations properly. It appears that two points of view were in conflict. One is some kind of a modernized version of so-called free education which did not regard hard and consistent work, or the acquisition of knowledge, as the most important task of the school but the "happiness" and lubrication of the students in an effortless existence. Instead of the teaching and learning of knowledge, facts and data, they regarded creativity and thinking as the first-class ideal. According to the other point of view our schools--in respect to hard work--must represent a more sober concept, giving

unconditional priority to actual teaching and learning. The directorship should have made a decision in all this by the end of the 1970's. But it lacked clear and firm ideas and wavered between different points of view. At the time it was easy to give stricter ideas a bad reputation: they were branded as conservative. That is why the leadership could not accept this point of view, but neither did it accept the efforts of free education. It wanted to effect a compromise, to negotiate between the two views, agreeing sometimes with one and then with the other. A strange situation developed. The teachers could not orient themselves to the zigzagging course of the directors, and it seemed impossible to decide what the leadership expects, what it wants of them. What was good yesterday is bad today. Should they or should they not teach dates? Should the children be given grades or not? They had to adjust to absurdities. They had hardly eliminated the grading of the small ones, when marks were immediately replaced by various pictures, the equivalents of marks, foxes, kittens, bears, or--perhaps together with them--black and red points. And meanwhile it had to be seriously maintained, even boasted of, that we had eliminated the bad practice of grading. The hypocrisy made the teachers nervous, angered and embittered them. The school tensions were in fact brought about by this uncertainty of the directorship and the bad compromise. Not only the volume of the changes but also the lack of clarity in their direction. My friend, the school director, concluded his explanations by saying that it clearly follows from all this that if the wavering and uncertainty in the conduct of educational policy continues, no perceptible reduction in school tensions can be expected. As before, certain demands of free education were given some consideration as a consequence of the uncertainty among the decisionmakers.

With what results? We can now also speak of this. Everyone knows about the decline in the achievement of the schools because it is being discussed so much. Other and up to now unexposed phenomena of the deterioration process are reported in an important article by Jozsef Nagy in the columns of PUBLIC EDUCATION, one of the most important articles on education to appear in recent years ("The Development Pitfalls of Our Pedagogical Culture"). The essay, which is embedded in the large social interrelationships, asks among other things regarding creativity and thinking and with reliance on the author's experience in the past 15 years: "Is there any sign that those who leave school have a more developed capacity to think and be creative than those in previous age groups?" And after stating that there is no such sign, he says: "This outlook has only served to harm us." More important is what he wrote in the interest of clearing up the confusion not only in our schools but also in our research institutes regarding the interpretation of democracy and autocracy. What debates were conducted in this matter, too! Now Jozsef Nagy clearly and unmistakably states that "the relationship of the adult and the child or of child under the supervision of adults has nothing to do with democracy or autocracy. These are not pedagogical categories....Children and adolescents have no need for democracy, but for support, protection, loving demand, learning and adaptation."

Let us not deny it, important as they are, these words seem strange to us at present. But they are true and therefore suitable for creating a

reassuring light instead of the ambiguous thought processes and the inextricably entangled and disturbingly vague ideas which have existed thus far in our schools, and to develop everyday practice in a beneficial way. Of course, it is well known that it takes time for the effect of good, correct ideas actually to be realized. And let us not forget that the contradictions have not yet disappeared. Obviously, those who called once with such bias on the experiences of the Western world will also have a word or two to say about all this.

The present schizophrenic state of conditions cannot be maintained any longer. A society cannot permanently live in such a way that while hard work and actual achievements are demanded of adults, schooling for eight, twelve or sixteen years leaves the pupils and students in a condition of existence that is without effort and believed to be happy. Independently of what the school imagines or what it would like, the present world wants hard work and productivity from everyone. Well, let us not cheat the young.

6691

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POLAND

# COMMON FEATURES OF BLOC ELECTORAL PROCESSES NOTED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 16 Aug 85 p 6

[Article by Barbara Zawadzka: "Electoral Systems in the Socialist States of Europe: the Common Trait"]

[Text] The electoral systems of the European socialist states one thing in common: political unity. This means that only parties that support the existing political and social system, i.e. the socialist order, can put up candidates for public election. These political forces may be as varied ideologically and politically as the worker's party and Catholic organizations in Poland or the German Socialist Unity Party and Christian-Democratic Union in the German Democratic Republic. The political and program differences between them enrich the activities of representative organs and broaden the representation of various social groups within these organs. However, the condition that they must meet to present their own candidates for election is their acceptance of the socialist social and political system. On the other hand, the road is closed to electoral participation by forces hostile to socialism.

This principle is an expression of the dictatorship of the proletariat that gives these states their political likeness. The rule of the working people is the result of a struggle that has been waged through several generations and which may not be allowed to become the object of an electoral game that could be exploited by forces hostile to socialism. The reality of such a danger is shown by the sharpness of the struggle against the socialist system throughout the world and sometimes even by the events in certain socialist countries (such as in Poland at the beginning of the 1980's).

The exclusion of antisocialist political circles from the political game (which in this manner ceases to be a "free play of forces") is undoubtedly a formal restriction on electoral freedom but this condition is imposed every time that one social class rules another and the greater the threat to the ruling class, the stronger the sanctions. There is no state in the world in which the ruling class (or rather party since a class can be represented by several parties) would put itself to the mercy of such a play of forces. In

elections, bourgeois states often change their governments but the new ruling parties have always been ones that with certain modifications accept the rule of the bourgeois class. This is also true of social democratic parties and the proof of this is the governments that we have seen over the last 10 years in France and West Germany. If one party such as the communist party consistently tries to overthrow bourgeois rule and becomes a force that poses a real threat to that rule, the electoral systems are then completely cut up in such a way as to eliminate this threat (examples of this type of electoral law reform were cited in the 23 August issue of TRYBUNA LUDU). Socialist states are therefore not the only ones that have established electoral systems that do not threaten the position of the ruling class. This is the general rule of politics throughout the world and it is only the ruling class itself that differs.

It is this general unity of interests of political forces involved in socialist elections that causes them to form a common list of candidates. This is a form of electoral alliance of forces with similar political traits. Such alliances are also formed in bourgeois states (for example, the recent alliance formed between left-wing parties and political groups in France), but this seldom results in the presentation of a common list of candidates although such examples can be found (such as the system established by the Polish electoral ordinance in 1936) because this requires certain political conditions. In the socialist states and also in those that have more than one party (aside from Poland, there is the GDR, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia), it would not be appropriate to make political forces with common goals, such as worker and peasant parties, to compete against each other. For that reason, it is a common trait of the electoral systems of all of the socialist states of Europe for all forces participating in an election to join within a single list of candidates.

In this case, the democratic nature of elections is not determined as it is in bourgeois-democratic states by elections between competing parties but by the selection of persons who are supposed to represent the people. The more influence citizens have on the outcome of an election, the more democratic it is. Citizens exert their influence in various ways and at various moments in the electoral process. It is the various means used to determine the scale of voter influence that differentiates the electoral systems of the different socialist states.

The amount of influence that citizens have in their choice of candidates also gives rise to different electoral laws. However, what is most important here is the way that the candidates are chosen, the number of candidates on lists and the principles for choosing between them and well as the balloting method. The means used by the different socialist countries will be presented in this cycle of reports (except for the Yugoslav electoral system which, due to its great differences (while preserving the principles described above) requires its own discussion.

12261

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POLAND

## KATOWICE DEFENSE COMMITTEE REPORT

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 15 Aug 85 p 1,2

[Article by Jerzy Miemiec: "From a Session of the Provincial Defense Committee in Katowice: A Determined No to Theft on Trains"]

[Text] Every session of the Katowice Provincial Defense Committee at which "key problems of the province" (to use the official term) are discussed differs in that there is no idle chatter. A short presentation is made of previously-written materials on certain topics and this is followed by discussion and decision-making. The facts and aims considered at this forum of provincial government representatives are authoritative... ..

This time, representatives of the directors of the Provincial Prosecutor, Delegates from the Supreme Chamber of Control and the Silesian District Directorate of State Railroads were invited to yesterday's meeting led by Chairman of the Defense Committee Tadeusz Wnuk.

How are waste, poor management, speculation and other such pathological phenomena to be controlled? As opposed to what the public thinks, information from the Provincial Prosecutor shows that for many years, Katowice province has been one of the most crime-free in Poland (in the statistical sense, in other words, the number of crimes per thousand inhabitants) which does not at all mean that there has been a drop in the crime rate. What it means is that in comparison to last year, the number of crimes committed in Katowice province in the first half of this year rose by 6 percent while the average rise in the crimes in the rest of the country was 8.7 percent. The so-called crime factor per thousand inhabitants was 511.9 in Katowice province while it was 703.7 for the rest of the country.

Despite the fact that the frequency at which public property is stolen has for many years been the least in Katowice (last year, there were 84.4 cases per thousand inhabitants here while the national average was 149.4), this can in no way be considered a satisfactory state of affairs because our province has the second (after Warsaw province) greatest number of thefts committed by organized criminal groups. Katowice also has the greatest number of thefts of

valuable public property. During the first 6 months of this year, the number of ascertained cases of criminal improvidence rose by as much as 28.6 percent!

The greatest danger of theft of public property has been noted in establishments and places of work in the mining and energy industries, transportation, the construction materials industry and the machine industry. What is worst is that a considerable number of these crimes are committed during the storage of goods, transport and production and therefore during activities that should be subject to careful supervision. Of 1150 persons suspected of stealing public property in the first 6 months of this year, 16.8 percent were persons responsible for protecting this property. This included directors and deputy directors, managers, depot directors and, unfortunately, officials that are supposed to protect this property.

This phenomenon has many causes that are known to the prosecutor, police and managers of places of work. The prosecutor and police are doing what they can to quickly and efficiently uncover these crimes and properly punish the perpetrators (and must remember the provisions of the law on particular criminal responsibility) while plant managers (if they draw the proper conclusions from this) already know what to expect.

A pleasing fact is that the detection of crimes of economic speculation has risen. However, the number of cases of alcohol speculation continues to grow.

The prosecutor and police confirm the widespread public notion that there is an increasing number of pathological symptoms in our everyday life. The weakening of moral inhibitions and worsening social discipline has given birth to the worst common crimes. The age of children participating assaults and audacious theft has dropped while the number of these juvenile criminals has increased.

The prosecutor is doing everything within his powers. It seems that in not using repression, more attention must be given to crime prevention because it is very important, as the governor has repeatedly stated, to determine the causes and sources of crime. The difficult social and economic situation in the country cannot explain everything.

How are the recommendations and conclusions of crime monitoring being realized? In the second half of last year and the first half of this year, a delegation from the Supreme Chamber of Control monitored 253 individuals. They monitored particular problems and also looked immediately into complaints. The interested parties were always informed of the results of these investigations. Very simply stated, the only drawback was that it was not possible to optimistically assess what was learned and found that it would be necessary to more deeply study the situation. For example, it must be very alarming that all negative phenomena are explained by so-called objective causes and that this brings about a widespread unwillingness to use official sanctions. This trend seems to be at its worst in cooperative enterprises where it is felt that self-management means license to do anything.

It has also become necessary to coordinate the actions of all authorized control institutions and to assist the activities of the Worker-Peasant Inspectorate. Second, the results of monitoring must be communicated to all enterprise and factory worker collectives that were monitored rather than just a small managerial group: sometimes it has been the case that the director or manager is responsible for the sloppiness of a monitored brigade while the brigade itself was unaware of this and continued working as before.

The general conclusion is that less monitoring is a means of checking whether the recommendations are being realized.

How is property transported by rail being protected? The Silesian railway network makes up 6 percent of the total track length of the Polish State Railways but it carries 47 percent of the freight and 12 percent of all the passenger traffic. The Silesian rail network serves the Katowice, Bielsko-Biala and Czestochowa provinces as well as part of Opole and Sieradz provinces. It is annoyed by mining damage, frequent breakdowns, etc. To put it briefly, it must deal with thousands of extremely difficult problems.

But...the theft committed on rail lines have become a plague and an epidemic and many of these crimes are committed by the railway workers themselves. In the first half of last year, there were 1281 cases of theft (valued at 27 million zlotys) in the district while in the first half of this year, there were "only" 764 cases (over 17 million zlotys). The value of stolen goods was higher than a year ago. In the first half of last year, 88 persons were apprehended for theft and misuse of property and this included 41 employees of the Polish State Railways. In the same period of this year, 102 persons were apprehended for theft and 34 of them were railway employees. Nevertheless, the Provincial Defense Committee considers the situation to be very alarming. That does not mean much. One gets the impression that they have resigned themselves to the fact that this is how it must be. About 512 discipline actions were taken under the most diverse cryptonyms (such as "Passenger", "Semaphor", "WZK", "Castle" and others). Officials of the Railroad Security Service, Citizen's Militia, Volunteer reserve of Citizen's Militia, Internal Affairs Bureau and army along with railway employees themselves participated in these actions. Despite all of their efforts, they could not determine how the thefts were being carried out.

The amount of thefts committed at stations and junctions is also alarming and in many places nothing at all is being learned from investigations. This is true of Katowice-Ligota, Tychy, Piekary Slaskie, Raciborz, Wodzislav Slaski, Mikolow, Osciwecim and Bielsko-Biala. Of course, it is hard to detect in many cases. A train can cover a lot of distance. Where were the thefts committed? It is becoming necessary to establish convoys to protect freight.

How can we stop this plague of railway theft when the railway employees themselves take part in them? In 1972-1973, 80 percent of those committing the thefts were railroad employees while in 1983-1984, the figure was 50 percent. We know what sort of sanctions are placed upon them. There is still another side of the coin: for many years, the railway worker, as a state official, was the personification of accuracy, honesty and conscientiousness.

He sets an example for all other professions. It will take them a long time to regain their moral position.

The Katowice Provincial Defense Committee has unusually sharply and strongly assessed the state and efficiency of measures taken by the district directorate to protect railway freight and also passed a resolution accepting the presented information and explanation and obligating it to work out within two weeks a verifiable and concise program for improving the situation on the railroads. It was recognized outright that theft on the Polish State Railways, regardless of who commits it (including the clients themselves who often falsify documentation of their freight) will no longer be tolerated.

Participating in the sober and often lively discussion during the meeting were Col Feliks Pstrowski, director of the Defense Committee Secretariat, Henryk Rembierz, secretary of the Katowice Provincial PZPR Committee, Adam Szczeniowski, chairman of the provincial people's council, Stanislaw Slowik, chairman of the provincial SD Committee, Czeslaw Brozek, secretary of the provincial PZPR committee, Jan Grzegorzczak, vice-chairman of the provincial ZSL committee, Col Marian Przybecki, chief of the Katowice Provincial Department of the Army Staff, Edmund Gomulka, vice-prosecutor for the province and Col Henryk Sikora, chief of the provincial bureau of internal affairs.

During the meeting, the committee also assessed the political situation, the state of public safety and order within Katowice province and affairs connected with meeting the needs of the armed forces.

12261

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POLAND

## OPZZ OFFICIALS COMMENT ON ORGANIZATION, FUNCTION, NEW BILL

### Miodowicz on OPZZ's Influence

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 17-18 Aug 85 pp 1,3

[Interview with Alfred Miodowicz, Chairman of the OPZZ [All-Polish Consensus of Trade Unions], by Daniela Sielska: "'I Don't Believe That Nothing Can Be Done'"]

[Excerpts] [Question] From what you said it might be concluded that the trade union movement is formulating a minimum program. But that's not so at all. What about your tempestuous discussions with the government concerning prices, collective bargaining agreements, annuities and pensions, and now housing? Isn't there a contradiction between words and deeds here?

[Answer] The contradiction is seeming only. Our program is modest in relation to needs so far as concerns demanding new outlays and benefits. On the other hand, we attentively keep track over what can be distributed. We attempt to have the funds allocated on resolving the most urgent social issues. One such issue is to us, as based on the opinions of workforces, improving the material situation of pensioners, which was accomplished after all. We attempt to maintain the living standards of the population at least at the same level, if it cannot be bettered in the immediate future. And recently we have been indeed exerting considerable pressure on decisionmakers concerning the construction of housing.

[Question] Experts are saying that housing construction can be expanded at the price of abandoning certain important goals, e.g., by reducing the scope of modernization of our industry or curtailing certain social services. We are thus facing the dilemma of a difficult choice.

[Answer] But I also know other experts who claim that housing need not be considered a social service if the persons directly concerned are allowed to invest in it more of their own resources and assured of exercising control over their expenditures. If, lastly, these future users of housing also are allowed to exert greater influence over the process of construction itself. Then perhaps funds and materials will be expended more efficiently. This is besides an extremely complex problem that relates to altering the organization

of construction and cooperatives and perhaps also to changes in construction techniques and methods of obtaining building sites, and also to the solution of many other problems that would be commented upon by the experts cooperating with us. Besides, positive practical experience in this respect has already been gained in certain regions of Poland, and we would like to promote this.

Why are we working on this problem so persistently? Because it is extremely urgent and frequently mentioned by the workforces. We are convinced moreover that certain opportunities are being wasted owing to insufficiently flexible old operating procedures. We simply can't believe -- and I'm saying this for myself as well -- that nothing more can be done in this matter. For if we are to play a role in the so-called early warning system, we're signaling that the housing shortage, and especially the absence of prospects for solving this problem, threatens a grave conflict between the authorities and the rising generation. Another question: although we're acting in the spirit of the August [1980, Solidarity] accords, we don't demand that a radical change occur within 5 years, because this is impossible. All the same, we want to perceive substantial progress.

[Question] Could you comment in some detail on the proposal for signing new social accords as mentioned at the Poznan Party-Economic Conference? Have you yet taken a specific position on this matter?

[Answer] I'd say that it's still being formulated. We want these accords to be based on the realities of the economic plans, both long-range and annual ones. Working in close cooperation with self-governments, trade union organizations would contribute to an improved fulfillment of these plans, to uncovering possibilities for conservation and improved productivity. Were our efforts to bear fruit by resulting in, e.g., an increase in output, improvements in production quality or intensification of exports, the greater resources thus saved would be allocated by the government on social purposes to be identified in consultation with us. This in itself is already a principle, more or less.

[Question] As I understand it, such accords should also contain a provision specifying your participation in organizing production and improving work productivity and labor discipline. Isn't this inconvenient to trade unions? So far protection [of workers' interests] has been the basic premise of your activities.

[Question] And it shall continue to be so, this being a social need. I can't agree with the claim that our participation in attempts to improve productivity and labor discipline would be inconvenient to us. Productivity, as I see it, is after all primarily a good organization of labor that promotes discipline as well as an adequate supply of means of production.... We all also are interested in good productivity and higher output, because this results in higher wages, improved supplies of consumer goods and a more rapid economic stabilization. This is besides obvious.

[Question] One provision of the August accords dealt with the existence of independent self-governing trade unions. In your opinion, does the present



trade union movement meet these criteria? Do you exert any marked influence on the resolution of important social issues?

[Answer] [Ours] is a self-governing movement with a highly developed internal democracy. Its basis is the plant trade union organization. That is where our opinions on many important issues originate, and that is where the power and the membership of the trade unions arise. In their turn, however, the successful initiatives undertaken by national [trade union] organizations influence the position of the movement inside and outside the plant. This is thus a feedback. I think that, although we have not perhaps met adequately the expectations of workers on many issues, many of them do appreciate properly our efforts not to overlook any important social problem. For we can and even must wait for the resolution of certain issues, but at the right moment we are certain to raise these issues. I refer here also to certain August demands. A proof that we are winning the trust of working people is the growing size of our membership.

[Question] Recently your membership has shot up past the milestone of 5.5 million. Some people are questioning this figure. What are your statistics based on?

[Answer] We simply count the number of the dues-paying members, and that should be a sufficiently credible criterion. But let me reply further to your earlier question: as regards our independence, I'd have to know how it is defined and by whom. The position of our social organization hinges on many factors. For example, a trade union is of a certainty dependent on the financial situation of an enterprise to the same extent as its employees. On the other hand, our relationship with the [plant] party organization is that of a partner and we definitely are independent of the management and the state administration, with which we engage in consultations and negotiations and whose decisions we often successfully influence.

#### Vice-Chair Praises New Bill, Comments

Warsaw PERSPEKTYWY in Polish No 35, 30 Aug 85 p 14

[Interview with OPZZ Vice Chairman Leszek Brojanowski by Henryk Maziejuk: "The Chest Principle"]

[Excerpts] The reborn trade union movement is gaining impetus and has become a demanding but responsible partner. It offers many initiatives on behalf of the working people as a whole. What then are these reborn trade unions like? What are their aims and what are they striving for? To what extent will the recently revised Sejm decree provide them with better conditions of action? We interviewed Leszek Brojanowski, vice chairman of the OPZZ, on these and other issues.

[Question] Trade unions now have a membership of more than 5.5 million. Does that make you feel convinced of your power?

[Answer] I believe that, while important, the size of membership does not demonstrate the power of trade unions. Their power derives only from their convictions and from the support of people who....

[Question] ...Precisely, how is it to be expressed?

[Answer] In maintaining the authenticity of the unions.... At plants some or other issue is posed sharply, remonstrated upon with the top [the management, or the authorities] and thereupon resolved -- and everything suddenly acquires another dimension, becomes flat as it were. As if this top-bottom amplitude were conflict-free. This is a menacing trend. If trade unions maintain their vigilance and bear in mind that amplitude, that bottom and that top, then they are authentic and enjoy popular support.

[Question] Every large organization, including yours as well, has a natural tendency to moderate its appraisals.

[Answer] Undoubtedly. However, the OPZZ is no central organization. Ours is a dispersed structure consisting of 132 federations, which are not so easy to encompass. Our activists, from bottom to top, depend on the volition of plant trade union organizations and federations.

[Question] Alfred Miodowicz, the chairman of the OPZZ, abounded with optimism when the Sejm revised the decree on trade unions and the related decrees. What gratified him?

[Answer] You should ask him yourself. But it seems to me that he meant the newly granted trade union powers, which I would call determining powers. The fact is that previously trade union organizations couldn't feel themselves from the legal standpoint to be codecisionmakers at their plants. If, as often happened, they did influence some decisions, it was through the mediation of worker self-governments. Now they can decide on social and economic life at enterprises and institutions.

[Question] Let's speak concretely. Well then, how will the widening of trade-union powers benefit the working people?

[Answer] I'll omit here the powers of the OPZZ, for it is the plant trade-union organizations that are more important. Under the revised decree, these organizations have the right to share in determining plant pay systems, work rules, vacation schedules, and rules for granting awards and bonuses. They're assured of having a voice in determining the principles for the utilization of social and housing funds within enterprises as well as in providing the related services to employees. And lastly, they have the right to conclude plant bargaining agreements.

[Question] In other words, the revised law will enable the trade unions to better represent and protect employees. But this raises the question: how?

[Answer] This is an important question. Honestly, some of our activists would like the law to define in detail all their powers and the manner of exercising

them as well. But the decree affords opportunities and provides safeguards, with everything else being dependent on the plant trade union organizations themselves and their methods of operation, on the activism of their members, the breadth of their view and their courage, consistency and ingenuity. But this cannot be specified in a decree; this has simply to be learned.

[Question] As ensues from the revisions in the decree, trade unions are again to accept responsibility for certain social issues, such as those concerning health or recreation and culture. Do you already feel strong enough to cope with these matters?

[Answer] This concerns something more. This concerns matters that trade unions cannot evade if they wish to be truly coresponsible for the fate of workforces and plants. I would even say that this is linked to the philosophy of socialism.

[Question] You go as far as that?

[Answer] Far? But this is simple. If socialism is ours, if it is for us and if it is we who apply it, we can't say that we are standing aside from anything. We can't merely make demands on the management and flatter the employees. That's not so. If trade unions want to gain anything, which they do, they must feel coresponsible and act so that the chest into which they delve would first be filled.

[Question] In influencing the plant performance, that is, by filling that chest, you at the same time want to promote adequate working and living conditions of the workforce. This is just. But aren't you apprehensive that to some people this might seem unpopular? They might say: 'Look, the unionists are again pushing us to work harder!....'

[Answer] Some people might indeed say so, because the mistakes from the period when the socialist state was artificially placed in the role of the employer while people were placed in the role of mere wage-earners rather than those also enriching their country are revenging themselves. I believe that it is being increasingly understood that the both personal and collective living standards depend on the quality of our work.

[Question] The revised decree retains the provision that only one trade union organization may operate in any one plant. But, Mr. Vice Chairman, some people had expected trade union pluralism.

[Answer] Anyone who thought admissible the possibility of rivalry between two different trade unions in one enterprise was mistaken. Such a situation can't exist. We experienced such rivalry in the years 1980-1981, and we know well that it can't lead to anything good. Trade unions should unify rather than divide the workforce. They are strong when they are monolithic. Consider the DGB [German Association of Trade Unions], the central trade union organization in the FRG: there too pluralism is absent. Thus actually our opponents were concerned about building up a political opposition within the trade unions. They became disappointed when this turned out to be unrealistic.

[Question] You consistently stress the conclusion of collective bargaining agreements, without which, as Alfred Miodowicz said, "the trade union movement is disarmed."

[Answer] This concerns not just the trade union movement but our entire economy, which has to be brought into order. Consider for example regulating the turnover of the labor force. All claim that they have a limited workforce, but all are abandoned by these people, who go in search of better jobs elsewhere. They are bribed by the richer, well-equipped, modern plants. But are we to blame the workforces of the plants which have so far been poorly treated? No one asked their opinion when giving preference to some industrial subsectors and disregarding others. Collective bargaining agreements will assure certain minimum wages for all, both the better and the worse ones. From that moment on it will be therefore possible to declare to the workforces: "This is your due. You now have it. But if you want to earn more than this minimum, you have to work for it. Consider what to do in order to better the lot of both yourselves and the enterprise subject to the economic reform...."

[Question] Soon the elections to the Sejm will be held. In your opinion, what does the trade union movement expect following these elections. It's alleged that you intend to establish a caucus of trade union deputies to the Sejm. Is that true?

[Answer] Not a caucus, but a group. It will include persons linked to the trade union movement who belong to various caucuses and circles of Sejm deputies. How many will there be? I don't know. But we do want our representation in the Sejm to be worthy of the place of the trade union movement in the system of people's rule. During the last term of the Sejm there were only six trade unionist deputies, whereas in the Legislative Sejm there were 46. An interesting comparison, isn't it? I believe that in the coming term of the Sejm trade unions will have more to say. The group of trade unionist deputies will be able to keep decisionmaking circles posted about the arguments and views of the trade union movement.

[Question] In view of this, are you also intensifying your participation in the electoral campaign?

[Answer] We're already doing this. We declare that, since we want to have people's rule and influence the course of events and [share in] decisions, this possibility is also afforded to us by the elections. There is precisely the possibility of selecting deputies from among the candidates for deputies. Even if that's not all that could be achieved, it still is more than used to be in the past. A beginning had to be made someplace. Some day the next step will be made. In my opinion, the process of the democratization of this country has not been completed nor is nearing completion; it has just been initiated and is developing.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

1386  
CSO: 2600/1050

POLAND

# PAX ESTABLISHES SOCIAL INITIATIVE CENTER

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 27 Aug 85 p 2

[Text] Jan Dobraczynski, chairman of the National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Renewal, met on 26 August with a group of members of the PAX Society, who informed him about the creation of the ETOS Social Initiative Center in Lodz.

The center is to be a site for dialog and communication and a place for discussion by people of varied philosophical orientations.

Marek Kabat, center director and member of PAX's board of directors, emphasized that the goal of the center will be to create bases for a program and concrete solutions in the realm of moral renewal of various spheres of public life. Problems of ethics, morality and sociology will be considered. The center is to serve not only PAX members but also the aims undertaken by the Patriotic Movement for National Renewal in the broad sense of the word.

Jan Dobraczynski received this new initiative by PAX members with appreciation and said the issues under consideration have far reaching social significance as evidenced by the numerous voices in discussions during citizen consultation meetings before the Sejm elections in the PRL.

12776  
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POLAND

WALESA REVEALS NEW SOLIDARITY STRATEGY

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 27 Aug 85 p 17

[Text] Gdansk--Five years after the birth of Solidarity, Lech Walesa, once the leader of the now banned labor organization, says that he is convinced that the "big battle" has not yet been fought.

In an interview with the French news agency AFP, Walesa talks about "the strategy of the long march," which has been drawn up by Solidarity's underground leadership.

Solidarity, the first free labor union movement in Eastern Europe, was created on 31 August 1980 after a historic agreement in the port city of Gdansk.

Just over a year later, on 13 December 1981, Solidarity was banned in connection with the declaration of a state of emergency in Poland.

"We will never again use terror, but we also will not abandon our ideals of August 1980," Lech Walesa says.

Solidarity's new strategy will be made public "within a few months," says Walesa, who refuses to give details.

In general it will include "a concrete and detailed economic and social program, with work tasks for everyone at all levels in the factories" and other institutions in Poland, he says.

He emphasizes that democratic and economic goals are equally important, since it "is difficult to be politically militant if there is nothing to eat."

"Today's situation is such that confrontations must be avoided."

"Instead, we must act in such a manner that every Pole at the grassroots level will have the kind of rights where he lives and works which in practice cannot be suspended later," Walesa says.

The Polish government under Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski has consistently refused all proposals for negotiations with Solidarity. Nevertheless, Lech Walesa believes that "the only possible way is to try to create a dialog."

To the question of whether Walesa believes that the 1981 state of emergency was avoidable, he replies that he had realized "that it couldn't end any other way."

The longer it continued toward 13 December, the more Solidarity's demands were distorted in compromise texts in the negotiations between Solidarity and representatives of the government, Walesa says. He adds ironically that the government furthermore refused to recognise the distorted texts as well.

Is there not risk that Solidarity's struggle may trigger restlessness among the young Poles, who for example started to attack the police during the Mayday demonstration in Gdansk?

"Unfortunately that cannot be excluded. Perhaps it is a necessary evil. But the authorities must learn to understand that they have only two alternatives to choose between: our alternative, which is non-violence, and another which is much more dangerous and whose consequences are impossible to foresee."

The government has described Solidarity as a marginal group in Poland, and according to its own calculations the number of paying members has dropped to about 500,000. A year ago Solidarity had twice that many members and when the organization was founded in 1980 the membership was more than 10 million.

"We have a potential strength as never before. If those who support Solidarity one day see that there is a chance to realize our ideals, our force will far exceed 10 million members."

11949

CSO: 3650/342-A

POLAND

# WORKER-FARMER ALLIANCE, IMPACT ON SEJM ELECTIONS EXAMINED

Warsaw PERSPEKTYWY in Polish No 33, 16 Aug 85 pp 14,15

[Article by Henryk Maziejuk: "What Suits a Ruler"]

[Text] It was a small matter but an important one to the family. The discussion was about whether the state has done good or bad in giving points for the social background of worker or peasant children taking examinations for entrance to schools of higher education. Someone said that this was unfair because it does not give everyone an equal chance when some receive points while others do not. Someone else added that if they did not have these points, then the schools would have the children of all except the classes that are the largest social force in Poland.

How did this subject even come up at a name-day party? It did because the son of the man whose name day was being celebrated, a Warsaw steel-worker, had taken his entrance examinations for the university and although he had waded through them successfully, he would not receive a diploma because he lacked a few points. If one of the guests suggested that maybe the father of the boy should somehow "react", he would fly into a passion over his honor and say that he is not going to ask anyone for favors. Once he was a peasant himself but he is now a blue-collar worker so nothing will happen if his son becomes a worker too. He added "it is better to be a good worker than a foolish bureaucrat".

With this, the discussion could have died down if one man had not said, "Does anyone know a white-collar family in which one of the children would become a worker?". Somehow, no one could think of such an example of such reciprocal class leakage so the discussion heated up again, centering mainly on the question of what it is that makes so many people avoid physical labor.

## The First of All Matters

This might have seemed to be nothing special, as good a subject for conversation as any, but it really was one of those that cannot be forgotten. On many occasions and even without any special occasion, there take place many such discussions in smaller groups or larger in which the matters, even when



they seem banal, are closely connected with all of the problems of modern Poland because it seems that there is nothing in our country that is a separate isolated concern that does not fit into a broader context and has a vital effect upon a greater or smaller group of people.

What I am writing about is found within the PRON declaration and this attests to its importance. In reference to all Poles, the declaration states outright that "we are for effective fulfillment of the leading role of the working class in society, a deeper alliance between workers and peasants and enrichment of the participation and active cooperation of intellectuals and of all working people". In other words, it could be said that this is a matter of the foundation of foundations and of the supreme principles of government which cannot be questioned even if they are at times rather vaguely expressed or omitted. These principles are at the same time the most important point of reference for changes in Poland and all that is being done is aimed at them.

Like a compass, we are oriented at whether we are proceeding according to the chosen course and how much the changes are lifting the working class to the role of the real ruler and master of the country. We are also sensitive to whether the conditions are being created under which the working class can determine its tasks in full and feel responsible for their realization because one does not have to be convinced of its strength and decisiveness. It has already shown that more than once.

#### Opposing Evil

In the memorable year of 1980, the working class reminded us in full voice of its rights and place in society. It reacted as it did because its earlier warnings went unheeded.

However, has the working class, which is united internally and outwardly cohesive, remembered only itself? No. In this respect too it has shown its great maturity and duty to the entire nation, showing beyond all doubt that what unites the classes is closely connected with that which is national in nature.

It is no coincident that it is the workers that most loudly reminded us of the sources of socialism. Practice has too often found itself too far from these sources. The workers protested against errors in the building of socialism. They opposed any retreat from the ideological principles of our government, from social justice and equal chances and from freedom, respect for human dignity and the right to criticize. They turned out against voluntarism in economic management. This list of the things that they opposed could be even longer but that is not the point we wish to make at this time.

What is most important is that the workers themselves underscored the fact that they are for socialism but against its distortions. This cannot even be changed by the fact that as time has passed, there have been many events that could have contradicted this line of understanding and action. As I see it, these events were not so much the result of a lack of feeling of responsibility for the nation or worker immaturity (although that has had its examples) as the product of false promptings and whispers of various

"advisors" who were not believed by all. This was more the result of the dissipation of attitudes, confusion and general anarchy and impotent in the face of evil than any lack of faith in the need and possibilities to work together to improve Poland. These events were also the work of open opponents to socialism who skillfully managed to parade themselves as defenders and helpers of the workers, lull the workers' political senses and hide their own real goals and intentions.

And the claim that the workers did not fight for their own rights alone? We already have almost too much proof of that from both the recent past as well as the present. Their class concerns are as a rule those of all of society.

Why do I remind you of this? To contradict those that too easily (but not without perversity) impute the working class and all segments of that class with provincial tendencies, in other words, the type of thinking that would only consider matters of their most immediate concern.

#### Close to Life

This is worth remembering because if pre-election reflections fall asleep of what has been done to strengthen the leading role of the working class, there would be no way to separate ourselves from what happened not too long ago or from what is happening in the PZPR which, as the name indicates, is the party of the working class. Its working class mainstream, so radically illustrated at the 9th Extraordinary Congress, has not weakened any with the passage of time but has gained in strength and this itself has found expressions so many times in Central Committee plenary sessions. We can also expect that it is just such a vision and understanding of party affairs, from top to bottom, that is sober and cohesive realism, clear and hard, combining within itself all that concerns today and tomorrow, will not just persist but grow stronger.

The party is one of the basic elements in restoring workers to the role of real masters of the country. And the other elements? Let us consider trade unions whose worker character is made quite clear by their activities, undertakings and demands for perception and better resolution of problems ranging from the worker's social and living problems such as housing construction to intra-union questions, the decision of which makes work more efficient all the way to problems of a national scale.

What about worker and employee self-management? Its growth and strengthening is the expression of worker aspirations. These organizations are full of concern for the good of the firm as well as that of the nation and these are two things that are not at all easy to conciliate. Worker self-management also teaches economic and civil thought, cooperation and partnership and responsibility.

#### A Better Understanding

Returning to the question of the worker-peasant alliance and the governmental foundations of the people's state, we must observe that in recent years it has become much more detailed than ever before. This has above all been due to the policy of both of the cooperating parties, the PZPR and ZSL.

Their shared agricultural policy which was recently much improved has had good results. Many of its postulates have been fulfilled. There has been a visible improvement in the growth of agricultural production. The conditions are being established for further modernization of rural areas and better supply of food on a level that guarantees self-sufficiency. This is, after all, the main goal of the shared agricultural policy of both parties.

Of course, even if it is immeasurably important to have something to throw in the pot and put on our plates, the parties are not preoccupied exclusively with food production. They also place great importance on closer bonds between the working class and peasants so that they will better understand one another and be able to undertake joint actions. We can already say that great progress has been made in this area. After all, there has been no lack of signs that someone very much wants to bring both classes into conflict. I recall attempts to set them against each other and to drive a wedge between them. There have been efforts to divide them. However, both the peasants and workers soon realized that this was absolutely not in their interests.

Aside from political and social goals, a better understanding between workers and peasants serves more mutual satisfaction of their needs. Mutual needs are also national needs. An understanding of the needs of rural areas that have so long been underestimated and unappreciated is becoming stronger among workers. This is a very positive sign that not only encourages a climate for acceptance of the use of large budget funds for the development of a large food industry but also makes industrial producers feel much more concern for turning out the products needed by agriculture. The scale of needs here remains high but progress is also visible even under these crisis conditions in which we have had to give up some of our other needs. However, this is not true of food. Thus, if this tendency is accepted by workers and continues to be used as a principle, I am certain that one of Poland's chief problems is now solved. To put it simply, there is no shortage of food.

Among the many things that people reflect upon at various occasions before the elections, they also turn their minds to the workers and peasants who give their physical labor along with many other things. They all know quite well what the work of one's own hands means because this is what they live by. Let their aspirations reach higher and further and let social advancement continue.

I think that in going to vote, many will be able to count on the fact that the deputies of the next Sejm including the classes from which they are recruited will strongly support the cause of renewal. They will also see that we all work together, that is, better.

12261  
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POLAND

TEXT OF GLEMP SERMON CRITICAL OF MARXISM

Warsaw PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI in Polish No 36, 8 Sep 85 p 1

[Sermon during the feast of the Blessed Virgin of Czestochowa, Jasna Gora, 26 August 1985: "The Realism of Church-State Coexistence"]

[Text] Cardinals, bishops, priests, Pauline Fathers, nuns, beloved brothers and sisters in Jesus Christ!

Mary is the name of the one whom all generations and all people who honor her Son Jesus Christ call blessed. Mary of Jasna Gora is the name of the same mother of the Son of God who has loved our nation and to whom the nation returns sincere love. We come to her today on this feast day celebration, as is our custom, to tell our concerns and hopes, to submit our thoughts for her opinion. to guide our work as close to Christ as possible, according to her appeal in Cana of Galilee: "Do whatever he tells you" (John 2:5).

We are aware that in giving the world the Redeemer, Mary yielded completely to the work He undertook. St. Paul tells us today about this work in his letter to the Galatians: ". . . when the designated time had come, God sent forth his Son born of a woman . . . to deliver from the law those who were subjected to it, so that we might receive our status as adopted sons" (Gal 4:4-5). By "law" St. Paul understands a religious-social system that is based on the flesh, on matter, which therefore is subject to death, which breeds sins and defies the spirit. Liberation from such a system has religious significance: the shaping of people as conscious children of God who, in passing through the earth, do good and strive for the eternal legacy that belongs to the adopted children of God. On man's passage through the earth, he is accompanied by the church, which continually recalls with St. Paul, "Do not conform yourselves to this age but be transformed by the renewal of your mind, so that you may judge what is God's will, what is good, pleasing and perfect" (Romans 12:2).

Thus the church desires to consider, within the limits of particular social systems, how to "renew the mind," how to think not in terms of fashion and propaganda, but independently on the basis of Revelation, under given circumstances how to seek the will of God, which aims for the liberation of man, for purification from the accretions of this law -- sin and death.

The liberation of man performed by Christ continues. It touches every generation. It belongs to the fundamental goals of the church. Mary participates in this spiritual process. We Poles in particular feel her presence. For our faith in Christ and trust in Mary are permeated with elements of the nation's existence and its culture.

In today's reflections, I would like to consider two aspects of thought on Polish reality. The first aspect is theoretical, or rather on principles, and the second is practical, taking more into account the laws of life, which are so rich, especially those drawing strength from faith, that they surpass the system of principles.

#### Principles Relating to Belief and Non-Belief

The church of its essence is destined to teach belief in God as revealed by the Son of God, Jesus Christ. The church is to defend the belief thus handed down on behalf of the good of man and society. For it holds that social order based on recognition of God's presence in life and the world leads to the fullness of a happy life whose beginning Jesus Christ revealed in the Resurrection. From among the people, Mary Assumed into Heaven achieved that fullness of redeemed life, becoming a model for the whole church.

Against the spiritualization of man thus conceived, movements have emerged that especially in the last century have undertaken and continue a heated struggle against religion and faith. They have made man's liberation from God and faith their goal. They declare that only a man deprived of God and religious imagery becomes a true man and establishes the principles of his own individual and social conduct. Indeed religious reflexes remain in man, but these can be provided for with godless religiousness, by creating a cult system and secular national rituals. One could generally call all these movements atheistic. The differences among them depend on the means in which they desire to draw man away from God. These means are discouraging faith, presenting other possibilities for satisfying religious needs, surrounding the faithful with an atmosphere of ridicule, hindering or forbidding practice, at least for certain groups of people. These means can recommend meditation borrowed from Oriental beliefs, indifferentism, spiritualism, syncretism, practical materialism, the ideal of national socialism, permissivism and so on.

One of the movements that excludes God is Marxism. Its significance is based not so much on the power of ideas as on the premise of power. Marxism adopted by some political communities as a state philosophy holds almost the same place as that formerly held by privileged faiths. It declares that it is a scientific philosophy and thus the only objective, true and just one, to which the future of the world belongs when elimination of "religious imagery" occurs. Today it has officially retreated from administration oppression of believers, while it stresses convincing man of the superiority of materialism, the disclosure, as it were, of the errors of religion and the church, or bringing up the younger generation in the spirit of atheism. In certain publications, we can read the statement that a believer is less productive. We can also read how institutions responsible for atheization are reprimanded for

not achieving desired results. It is said that believers enjoy freedom, respect and protection. Of course, believers defend in their own way the quality that faith is for them, most often through public concealment of it.

#### Polish Specifics

Poland, which among surrounding countries had the highest percentage of profoundly faithful people, has already experienced a period of such struggle with religion. This was acknowledge as wrong and tactics of conduct toward religion were exchanged for strategy. The strategy differs from the tactics in that it shifts the elimination of "religious imagery" from society to a distant indefinite time, to the next or following century. Such a change in religious policy is not without significance for the church and although it is a condition of circumstances rather than good will, it moves the ultimate confrontation of the discrepancies between religion and the materialist philosophy into the distant future. The time between the now strategic and distant future is a time for fulfillment of the church's mission under the constant friction of two separate attitudes in one society. It is a time when faith can move, although in a limited way, into education, into theological training, into the development of life in family and parish communities and into the media to a limited extent.

Let us now consider the manifestations of the frictions that are currently coming to light in Poland between the Catholic Church and the system of materialist philosophy.

#### Motives for Discouragement

The phenomenon of religiousness is so prevalent in Poland that the believers must also be included in the country's public life. Fears often accompany such occurrences. For some fear that believers will begin to achieve ever greater influence in public life, transmitting values from the realm of faith; others are afraid that in building a public future, believers will succumb to ideology and lose their faith. Building a future within the framework of ideology sometimes produces conflict in people and leads to indifference and passivity. For example, there are people who, convinced of the superior of collective means of production and at the same time maintaining vital faith in God, have joined the party. Joining is possible but persevering and working without a change of philosophy is at best uncertain. Thence the conflict of conscience in which the church has a right to be interested: a member of the party is also a human being and thus he too is entitled to a certain range of human rights.

A similar conflict also occurs among socially unorganized Catholics. It is well known that every Catholic as a citizen is bound by love for his homeland and thus by work, helping his country and protecting his homeland within the existing state structure. But a Catholic's execution of his services to his homeland often meets with unexpected resistance. For how is he to build a future if he wants to erase from it the values that are most dear to him and flow from faith in God. A believer who is supposed to achieve the future of an

atheistic homeland feels like the person who is supposed to cut off the branch on which he is sitting.

This conflict is embodied in several areas of life and work. It comes to light most in education. The lack of schools and the common need to build and equip them is known to everyone. But the believing public knows too that the education ideal will be imposed "in advance," that this society will be unable to define the direction of education in a legal manner. Thus we come to the taboo that principles are.

#### Clericalism and Tolerance

In the conflict that comes between the position of faith and the materialist position, two notions emerge -- clericalism and tolerance.

Clericalism is supposedly the intrusion by the church into areas of public life. Calling the services the church gives society clericalism is unfair. The church in Poland is far beyond clericalism. As priests we do not intrude on speeches, we do not join marches, we respect the secular nature of state celebrations, we do not present our chests for decoration, although we remind ourselves that the Lord is our reward; we do not criticize but we do express approval in the spirit of ecumenism when representatives of other faiths receive honors in Poland. However, with priestly concern we accept those who seek faith and the sorting out of worldly values according to the laws of faith in the church.

The second notion in these frictions is tolerance. It does not occur very often in other countries. Here tolerance is directed toward the protection of atheism. It is to ensure that the faithful will not demand -- as they say -- religious symbols in state institutions, even if all in a given circle were Catholic. We have already said much about this and much has been written on the subject. But is the point here tolerance or is it abiding by formal principles? In this framework, the object of tolerance is not man with all his qualities but the principle of worldliness, an abstraction, a taboo, a phantom.

There is no lack of examples of true tolerance on both sides. No conscientious pastor would infringe on tolerance toward a conscientious non-believer. For he knows how complex and difficult are the matters of approaching God and withdrawing from Him.

On the other hand the government's tolerance for the illegal movement of naturists is strange. One could understand the desire to swim or sunbathe by a group of people who, as they say, cast off their textiles and gather in a secluded spot. But devoting hours of television time to this movement is embarrassing. The program was supposedly humorous, supposedly ideologically based, but in reality these were vulgar scenes having nothing to do with the beauty of the body, the liberation of man or the protection of nature.

## The Life of Faith is Stronger Than Ideological Principles

Beloved, the church very much wants the liberation of every human being. It takes this responsibility very seriously. It teaches that social liberation begins with freeing a human being from evil, from sin. It is therefore not a blatant liberation, not a casual one, not one for applause but a liberation reaching to the very roots of the struggle between good and evil. Whoever does not understand this program of the church will also not understand what the church's menial position means to the world and to man. The church serves the world and wants to serve as defined during the council in the constitution on the church in the modern world. It sees its service as independent activity. Serving the world does not mean being a tool in the hands of the institutions of this world. The church defends itself against a variety of propositions for service from the right and the left. We sometimes hear how non-believers defend the church, praise it, adulate it, and all this in order to keep the church's activity on line with their own interests. But the church wants to serve not as a tool, but as a subject that can recognize good and voluntarily extend held in its own right.

Above all, people who are poor and suffering are the object of the church's service, without investigation of the cause of the poverty or suffering. God has allowed us to have certain accomplishments in this realm but we can also see great new needs emerging, which Christian compassion must confront. In awareness of this service, the church is soliciting help for family farming. But these matters are so complex and there is so much mistrust and suspicion surrounding the church that these efforts are not bearing anticipated fruit. The church also sees its service to the nation and the country in conveying moral criticism of the public conduct of individuals and social groups. It also takes part in dialogue on important issues of the country's life. In all conscience it must be conceded that this voice is given an attentive hearing. Perhaps there will come a time when documents on this work of the church will be publicized in order to see the level of effectiveness of the church's intervention and its genuine concern for our homeland.

Recently, on the subject of the church's right to social criticism of events in public, words of indignation have been heard in the press: What is this? The church dares to criticize; let it remember that it will be criticized too! Well, criticism of the church is nothing new. If it is honest, it will also be an element of purification, which the church needs. Moreover, over the ages the church has become accustomed not only to criticism but also to insults, slander and attacks and this began with the stoning of St. Stephen.

In one of the July issues of KULTURA -- not the Paris edition, but the Polish one -- one of our renowned polemicists attacked the church in a rather startling way. He admitted that in his youth he looked for values in Christianity but now he was beyond faith. He observed the Holy Father's stay in Poland. He was at the Stadium of the Decade and saw much there, but he did not see Christ at that gathering. He saw mostly politics and this -- I am quoting -- "led the Polish church to degradation, while Poles became the most godless nation in Europe." Later he adds -- surely to fortify atheistic hearts -- the following statement: "In my opinion, the present conduct of the Polish



church, in the long run, is not threatening to anyone except for one institution -- itself."

We would like to assure our national prophet that he will not live to see the funeral of the church in Poland and that the church in Poland does not want to be threatening to any institution, but it does want to liberate the good in man. It is necessary then to look at the faith of the whole church, at the entire wealth of concealed devotion, work, suffering and prayer in the people of God and not only at this or that priest, about which one learns from overseas radio. Moreover, how could our polemicist notice Christ at the Stadium of the Decade if he does not know Him.

Beloved, we go through life with faith and it is the faith of the whole church in which the Risen Christ lives, which the Holy Spirit guides, in which the Blessed Mother is present. Faith means the presence of God among His people. And God is power. God finds solutions where man with his principles can see no alternative, can see no way out. Faith is ultimate reliance on the wisdom and love of God, on His mercy, not on our own cleverness and shrewdness. In this spirit we also accept criticism for after all we acknowledge our sinfulness and weakness. In a time tested way, we entrust matters of our church, of families, our homeland to the Blessed Mother of Jasna Gora. We ask for her intercession and protection. For leading us along the safe path through dangers that we may maintain purity of faith, correctness of action and that we may be worthy of attaining the liberation the Lord gives. Amen.

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POLAND

LIBERATION THEOLOGY ISSUE HINDERS CATHOLIC-MARXIST DIALOGUE

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10 Aug 85 p 5

[Article by Eulalia Michnowska: "Difficult Dialogue"]

[Excerpts] Questions about prospects for Christian-Marxist dialogue are being asked more and more often following the publication of the Instructions of the Congregation for Religious Studies on certain aspects of liberation theology. This Vatican document elicited a unusually stormy debate. It contains a very sharp critical formulation of the social theory of Marxism and the social practices of countries that incorporate that theory into life. Therefore it is worth considering certain factors affecting the development of this dialogue within the context of the "Instructions."

It is worth noting that the Vatican official overlooked a crucial matter in this appraisal: Inspired by the Marxist conception of society, liberation theology protests against force used by Catholics in Latin America against their co-religionists. Since religion does not constitute a hindrance to them in using force, it is worth considering the need to change the social conditions under which religious ethics are practiced.

These issues were the focus of discussions carried on in the entire world on the substance of the Vatican's notion of solving social problems with dialogue and cooperation by people of good will. This year in Warsaw there were also meetings devoted to current prospects for Christian-Marxist dialogue. These questions were discussed at a seminar of the Institute for Religious Studies of the Academy of Social Sciences and at the seminar, "Dialogue and Cooperation," at the Augustinum Center for Christian Social Thought.

For the participants in these discussions, philosophical differences were not a barrier to understanding their partners' position. An opinion from the summary of the second meeting expressed well the understanding of the need for dialogue: "We are destined for dialogue for there is only one reality."

In discussion on the document of the Congregation for Religious Studies the Catholic side emphasized that the document has internal, disciplinary significance; it has the precise statement of doctrinal matters as its purpose. The instructions were to call attention to the impossibility of

"supplementing" the official theology of the Catholic church with any other ideas, especially materialistic ideas. Since the subject of the "Instructions" was not dialogue, the arguments contained therein did not constitute a barrier to the development of cooperation and dialogue in Poland and the world.

In the opinion of the Catholic participants, the discussion which the "Instructions" elicited will undoubtedly be conducive to working out a position document on the Catholic notion of liberation and reform. Such a document was announced in the "Instructions" and the vehement polemics with the current position of the Congregation -- also carried on in Catholic circles -- prevent precise expression of an issue that so differentiates the positions of Catholics.

At the meeting in Augustinum, the conviction was expressed that the popularization of Polish experiences can have great significance for dialogue between Catholics and Marxists in the world. A theoretical perspective on dialogue should come from Poland. It should contradict the false expression of the Marxists concept of man and society represented in Cardinal J. Ratzinger's document.

Meanwhile, representatives of the Marxist side expressed concern about prospects for dialogue under the present complex social and political circumstances in the world. Cardinal J. Ratzinger's document elicits questions about the principle of the church's neutrality in political matters and about the Vatican's position toward socialist nations. The Instructions of the Congregation for Religious Studies overlooked all points of contact between Catholicism and Marxism which had already -- since the time of John XXIII -- constituted the basis for dialogue between "people of good will." Aren't the Instructions attempting to impose a view of the church as monolithic and homogeneous despite the obvious internal dilemmas and conflicts that are coming to light more and more often.

At the same time, it was stressed that dialogue is crucial as an expression of support for progressive tendencies all over the world and as a form of resistance to distortion of the image of Marxism by certain circles. The caricature of Marxism, composed of ostensible truths, must be superseded by knowledge of Marxism as a revolutionary doctrine, critical but also one that proposes a positive program for the liberation of man in society.

It is true that the experience of theoretical dialogue and cooperation between Catholics and Marxists carried on since publication of John XXIII's encyclical, "Pacem in Teris" in 1963, revealed many difficulties. But this experiences affirmed the need for dialogue for comprehension of the partners' rights, for overcoming mistrust and for cooperation in improving the world.

The later statements of Pope Paul VI, in which he stressed the need to carry on dialogue and cooperation, presaged difficult times for Catholic-Marxist dialogue and cooperation. According to this notion, Christianity should permeate all structures of the modern world and dialogue with non-believers is to be the conveyer of this plan. After 1975 the main purpose of social activity by Catholics was to be evangelization, seen by Paul VI as a good

measure against all difficulties and problems of our time, ignoring the experience of Latin America, for example.

In the official doctrine of the papacy, dialogue and cooperation were more and more clearly retired to the background. Yet at the same time the idea is more and more accepted by the masses. Believers and non-believers are becoming more aware of the qualities that demand dialogue and cooperation. Cooperation in protecting the peace, dignity and rights of man and protecting his natural environment are among the most commonly accepted goals of this global dialogue. This defines and will continue to define the paths of mutual understanding.

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POLAND

CATHOLIC PAPER REPORTS ON CHURCH THEFT ARTICLE

Warsaw PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI in Polish No 36, 8 Sep 85 p 4

[Text] "In the years 1947 to 1977 approximately 69 percent of the total acts committed against cultural property were at the expense of religious objects. As a result of these crimes objects having an estimated value of 184 million zloties were stolen. It should be noted that this value has been significantly reduced and on the average should be increased about 3.5 to 4 times!" In ZYCIE LITERACKIE (No 34), Jan Swieczynski published an extensive criminological report, "Thieves of Religious Objects," on theft of religious works of art. "In comparison to the threat to religious cultural property in some Western countries, our situation seems to be more favorable. There it is calculated in thousands of incidents and tens of millions of dollars. But this is not a cause for complacency. We must gauge our misfortune with our own measure and do what the national cultural conscience requires." The author attempts to present the militia's point of view: "The conscientiousness of investigatory bodies in maintaining the status quo of our cultural goods regardless of their nature is certainly a cause for satisfaction. Often this occurs at the expense of diminished protection of other areas of public life equally important and threatened by crime to a greater extent than the area of church goods." This differs from the position held by church circles: "The statement contained in the communique of the 198th Plenary Conference of the episcopate referring to crimes against religious objects that 'the perpetrators generally remain undiscovered' seems at best peculiar." Swieczynski presents the caretakers of religious objects with a series of accusations about shortcomings in the custodial function they perform; yet it does not seem appropriate to join the dispute over who has greater blame. The author says, for example, that "the lack of inventorying is a fundamental shortcoming in the protection of religious works of art," but he departs from the truth when he writes that "the inability to use inventory records excludes church administration from cooperation with investigatory bodies," since the matter of the inspection of church inventory records is the subject of a totally different dispute.

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POLAND

BRIEFS

CATHOLIC PRESS EDITORS CONVENE--The council of of editors of Catholic publications met on 28 August at Jasna Gora. Bishop Ignacy Jez, chairman of the Polish Episcopate's Commission on the Mass Media, chaired the meeting. Rev. Alojzy Orszulik, director of the episcopate's press office, discussed the work of the 208th Plenary Conference of the Polish Episcopate. The editors became acquainted with the progress of the International Catholic Union symposium that took place in Liublianie Yugoslavia and with the outcome of the Bishops' Commission on the Mass Media (the commission works with the Conference of European Episcopates in Munich). Information was also exchanged on the effect of state censorship with regard to the Catholic press. In connection with the resignation of Bishop Herbert Bednorz as chairman of the Episcopate's Commission on Catholic Publications of the Joint Government-Episcopate Commission, the editors sent him a message expressing gratitude for his historic contributions to the development of the Catholic press in Poland. [Text] [Warsaw PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI in Polish No 36, 8 Sep 85 p 4] 12776

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ROMANIA

COMMENTS ON POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION WORLD CONGRESS

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 16, 25 Aug 85 pp 39-42

[Article by Ovidiu Trasnea: "The State in Contemporary Ideological Confrontations"]

[Text] In spite of the apostles of depolitization, the postwar period has been marked by a phenomenon of multiple significance: "the expansion of politics," expressed through both a more intensive politization of the contemporary world and its complex issues at local, national, and global level, and through what has been dubbed the "expanded spectrum of political systems:" the number of states has increased from 80 in 1946 to over 150, covering a wide variety of political types at various stages of consolidation and development.

In this context, the issue of the state and its functions has again been put on the agenda of our era, in view of the fact that the extensive and profound social and national changes that characterize it have been accompanied by an activation of the role of the state both in the countries that have irreversibly engaged along the revolutionary path of socialism, and in those which won their national independence within the process of eliminating the colonial system of imperialism.

As is consistently emphasized in our party documents and in the works of its secretary general, the state structure constitutes an essential element and, at the same time, a decisive factor for the continuity of the revolutionary process. Along this line, the particular scientific importance of the 13th world congress of the International Association of Political Sciences [IAPS], held in Paris in July this year, stems precisely from the fact that it focused on a topic that all previous congresses had ignored under the influence of the dominating trends in non-Marxist north American politics, which excluded the actual issue of the state from scientific concerns and dealt with the noninstitutional aspects of politics. Naturally, this comeback of the old and ever topical issue of the state occurred after a period of additions resulting from various theoretical-methodological schools of the discipline. As we pointed out at the congress plenum devoted to the concept of state, we, Romanians, are very pleased to note that the noteworthy contributions made by the president of socialist Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, on the issue of the state, and the basic guidelines of the 13th RCP Congress concerning the

role and functions of the state at the current stage of building the new system are in the vanguard of current international political sciences.

There had been many reasons to opt for the major topic of the congress, but the decisive ones were undoubtedly the profound changes occurring in the nature (the emergence of new types of states) and functions of the state (the expansion of the state to fill the entire social space and the entire texture of the social system). Two immediate consequences followed from this: the first, a theoretical one, was reflected in the organization of a plenum on the concept of state and the development of the public domain, and the second, more pragmatical one, was the stress put on the real or possible impact of research (particularly in the area of public policies), i.e., of the science itself on governmental actions, practical policies, and state actions at a national and international level.

This return to the concept of state and to its examination was not a mere resumption of the conceptual tools of the old theory of state, nor did it occur without active resistance from some quarters (such as Frenchman Michel Crozier, who stated even that this concept was used not so much because of its virtues as because of its weaknesses, precisely because it is an "ambiguous term" and thus, in using it one is not compelled to base the research on precise concepts). However, beyond such exceptions, the predominant note was that of stressing the need to reforge the concept of the state in the light of the real processes that have occurred in the postwar period in all the types of political systems and in the light of the theoretical-methodological and [euristice] acquisitions of the various schools of contemporary political sciences. Interestingly, both at the plenum and in the specially organized sessions, great emphasis was put on the new relations between state and government on the one hand, and the various textures of civilian society on the other hand, relations which have brought about not only new forms of state intervention, but also the well-known crisis of the "welfare state" and of the pattern of "rationality" that it embodied.

The other topic discussed in plenum--the relations between political science and life--highlighted a considerable shift in the traditional relation between the two. We are dealing with a much more active communication between political science and politicians, the emergence of new bridges, the adoption of new paths, and certain significant results toward the adoption of rational options in public politics, and conversely, a more realistic approach to the discipline. The adoption of public decisions has become a sort of "political market" for political science, whereby political scientists accept--naturally out of different ideological and political perspectives--the role of "counselors to rulers;" naturally, this new situation was not created by a smooth evolution or a reorientation of the discipline, but was marked, in certain social conditions, by sharp contradictions between political science and official policy, and particularly by the tendency of rulers in states with an exploitive character to co-opt politologists as conscience manipulators for the purpose of attaining their political aims.

The notable and very particular importance of the ideological confrontations within the recent IAPS congress is explained not only by the different orientations existing within the discipline, but also by the fact that the



first subtopic of the debates focused on the ideological, norm-setting, and moral fundamentals of the modern state. The "eternal" (and unfortunately still greatly unsolved) issues of legitimacy, authority, and power were at the very center of discussion. This was the first time in IAPS history that "political theory" won a place almost equal to that of the other branches of the discipline, and a dozen of the main sessions were devoted to it. In dealing with the issues of the state it was emphasized that the modern state is no longer a formal and purely coercive institution occupying an independent and remote place of its own, thus being quasi-autonomous: due to the shift toward decentralization on the one hand, and to the pluralism of viewpoints and values, and also to the emergence of organized groups of interests on the other hand, the internal structure of the state has in our era undergone great changes in all the types of political systems. Moreover, the increasing mutual dependence among states--whether economic, military, political, or of any other nature--implies the fact that no state, however powerful, can be fully autonomous in the traditional sense of the word. In the wake of these and other changes, certain politologists claimed that we are witnessing a progressive replacement of the modern state by another form of political entity. We are clearly dealing here with attempts to reiterate positions that our state has resolutely opposed since their first emergence, regardless of the form they assumed. That we live in a "world of interdependence"--especially in the wake of the marked internationalization of the contemporary historical process--and that in such a world the old autarchic dreams appear not merely as utopias, but also as a self-sentencing to stagnation and isolation, is very true. However, to arrive from here to the conclusion of the alleged antiquity of the modern state and its probable replacement by another "political entity" --undefined as yet and, in any event, "less autonomous"--is tantamount to disregarding historical reality. Such assertions constitute an attempt to undermine sovereignty under the pretext of necessary interdependence and cooperation. However, interdependence and cooperation are possible only between independent entities, because, according to the UN Charter, they presuppose the existence of relations between independent legal subjects.

Needless to say, the issue of the changes undergone by the state in the postwar period is of a great practical-political, philosophical, and historical importance. It presents, however, strong ideological implications. and this was highlighted at the debates when the current role and future of the national state were illegitimately contested, or when, in the study of the relationship between the national state and the new international order, the quasi-necessary "limitation" of the sovereignty and independence of the national state were advised, or when, in the discussion of the future of the state, the totally insufficiently documented necessity for the disappearance of the state was almost dogmatically raised.

Such viewpoints stand outside the real historical process: the historical law of the modern and contemporary era has established a new societal political structure deeply rooted in the new form of human community itself--the nation; this is the national state, or nation-state (in its Anglosaxon version). It is the legitimate framework for the current and future development of the peoples, and the restructuring of the international system, through the establishment of a new world economic and political order, will consolidate

the sovereignty and independence of the national state, strengthening relations of real equality and active cooperation. The international character of the economic, technological, social, and political problems of the contemporary world imply international solutions involving not just a group of states, but international participation, i.e., the active participation of all the states in international life, regardless of size, social system, or geographical location, and a broad democratization of international relations, with a view to devising the best suited forms of jointly solving these problems through the consensus of all the nations, negotiations, and agreements. Hence the central position of sovereignty and independence as two key concepts, the understanding and observance of which are decisive for promoting a policy in keeping with the real interests of all the nations. As the president of socialist Romania stressed, "It is important to clearly and correctly understand the concept of independence and sovereignty, and it is important that all the states promote a policy in keeping with this objective requirement of contemporary progress. In all circumstances one must proceed from the truth that the principle of sovereignty is universally valid and is the same for all the states, regardless of their social system; it can only be interpreted in one way, and should never be applied or interpreted differently for any country."

At this point I want to mention that, as organizer and chairman of Section 7 of the first subtopic, "The Marxist, liberal, and conservative theories of the nature and functions of the state," where both the papers and the discussions focused particularly on the Marxist concept of the state (with only one exception, the papers were delivered by non-Marxists or anti-Marxists), I was in a position to perceive at least three trends: a) staying with the text of Marx, "read" more or less correctly, as if Marxism could be identified only with the writings of the founders of the revolutionary concept. What was omitted, sometimes with premeditation, at other times out of intellectual shortsightedness, was the essential fact that Marxism, being a scientific concept of politics and state, can only be a process, that its mode of existence is necessarily its creative development, and that in order to appreciate Marx's concept of the state and its future, one must take into account the conditions in which it was born and the statal phenomenon from which Marx and Engels proceeded; b) an older tendency to oppose Marx of the "Kapital" to Marx of the "Writings from Younger Days" and his alleged renunciation of the initial humanism; and finally, c) ignoring certain significant contributions to the Marxist political theory, or stressing some against the others. Opposing these tendencies, at the end of the session I emphasized the Romanian theoretical concept and practice regarding the creative development of Marxism, our party's position on the issue of proletarian dictatorship, and in particular, President Nicolae Ceausescu's outlook on our socialist state as a state of workers-revolutionary democracy, its current functions, and its future within the process of advance toward communism.

Theoretical views on the state under socialism were discussed in a special session for this subtopic, together with other sessions devoted to the state in developing countries and the crystalization of various types of statal systems in those countries in keeping with their level of development and historical traditions. What I view as important is the fact that the

participants almost unanimously stressed the limited explanatory potential of traditional theories about the state when applied to these new statal phenomena. In point of fact, the new phenomena and tendencies of the contemporary historical process cannot be grasped in all their specifics with the aid of obsolete mental structures and conceptual tools, just as the new issues of world politics reject as inadequate solutions and methods derived from the arsenal of the past. From here the cardinal importance--as is consistently emphasized in our party's documents--of dealing with the issues of the socialist state in the light of profound and many-faceted theories and, at the same time, of approaching the states in other geographical areas in the light of the materialist-historical concept and on the basis of the study of real historical processes, whether we are talking about the statal phenomenon in developing countries, or about the typical processes occurring in statal evolution in developed capitalist countries. "In keeping with the new realities," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed, "we must develop the economic and political sciences and the science of social leadership. We must always preserve a critical attitude toward everything that is old and obsolete, boldly eliminating what no longer fits the new realities. We must courageously promote everything that is new and always act as true revolutionaries."

The analyses carried out for the first subtopic of political theory highlighted the emergence, after World War II, of a "new model" of international relations, from which it would appear that economic imperialism has replaced the previous colonial model and that many of the small states are no longer "toys" in the hands of more powerful states or of almighty multinational companies, but that they enjoy staunch political support from progressive forces. However, we believe that such views went too far when stating that the new international political and economic reality allegedly has changed the context of operation of the modern state to such an extent that it can no longer be grasped as a distinct entity. Of course, as we all know, the mutual dependence between national and international factors has deepened, and that has to some extent modified the background of contemporary policies. However, we also know that the states never ceased and, as we said, will never cease to constitute distinct entities, and that the issue of the disappearance of the state is for the extremely distant future, and in any case, recent statal evolutions in all the types of political systems substantially modify the current approach to the issue as compared to the conditions of the previous century.

The second subtopic, "Functional and structural changes in the state apparatus," focused on the changes undergone by the state and their causes. Among those cited were: the increasing diversity of socioeconomic and political systems, as a consequence of the emergence of the two different socioeconomic systems in the world and of the national liberation of former colonies; the impact of various techniques, especially for the purpose of coercion and persuasion; state activities, regardless of its political system and official ideology, in the area of social planning and policy; increased public functions; changes in the attitudes and behavior of the electorate and in the structure and operation of political parties.

To a considerable extent, the sessions succeeded in creating an image of the major traits of the new structures of state apparatus and of the means used by political scientists to study them. Thus, the discussions verified the need to consolidate comparative research--both from the viewpoint of volume and as a theoretical-methodological basis--whether in the form of studies explicitly comparative in their objective, or as studies proceeding from national analyses and arriving at comparative conclusions. The debates also highlighted interesting theoretical questions concerning comparative studies in developing countries, particularly in the area of political-administrative sciences.

Among the frequent topics aimed at highlighting the influences exercised on institutional changes, we want to mention the increasing impact of sociopolitical sciences on such changes, the evolution of public functions, the relations between "center" and "outskirts" and the changes noted in them particularly at national-local level, and the implications of various factors for the contemporary state, whether it is a matter of the electorate, of weakening political parties (at least in some areas), of the growing influence of new social movements (such as women's, youth, ecological, peace, and disarmament movements). of the various forms of civic involvement, and of the rapid development of the mass media.

What emerged was, aside from certain inevitable asperities, a tendency to search for common conclusions. Thus, while the state is changing and the norm-setting and traditional theories of the past must be constantly re-evaluated and re-thought, one must not lose sight of the fact that the state will continue to change and that political research must be oriented toward the future if it is to forecast changes and to assume even more ambitious tasks, such as contributing to fashioning these changes.

It is obvious even for the layman that, in the era of internationalized issues, the contemporary states face certain common problems. Naturally, it is not at all necessary to accept a simplistic version, such as the thesis of "convergence" between different statal systems, in order to understand that the contemporary states, whatever the differences between them, are faced with similar or at least sufficiently similar problems to justify comparative analysis. The typical trait of the past two decades is that comparative analysis has shifted its stress from the study of legal norms and philosophical concepts to the study of public policies. We must, of course, be aware of the need to place these public policies within their institutional framework. In other words, we still need comparative studies combining the various traditional and modern viewpoints, but we must particularly focus on what helps decipher future tendencies. Not only are the states faced with similar problems, but contemporary history "forces" them to learn from one another. It is therefore very important to be able to appreciate the extent to which contemporary states can accept and learn, and can internalize the lessons offered by the experience of other states. Naturally, this is quite different from accepting the idea of any "model" of structure, operation, or orientation regarding state policies, just as it has nothing in common with the unjustified tendency to merely copy practices alien to the real requirements of the specific national context.

If states change, that is not only because of the processes occurring within their political-administrative structures (and thus, explanations based

exclusively on endogenous factors may be not only insufficient, but also erroneous), but also because of the effect of general social changes at the level of the societal system. It is quite clear that socioeconomic changes, accompanied by changes in the consciousness and education of the masses, produce new political attitudes, which in turn affect public structures; similarly, the penetration potential of the mass media in our era of scientific-technical revolution has a great impact on political life. Changes in the structure and functions of the state cannot be separated from the results achieved by sociopolitical sciences and from their application in political decision-making processes, and thus the analysis of the contemporary state must be accompanied by examination of the issues raised by the increasing role played by specialists in social and political sciences as experts and advisers. It is actually well known and accepted that the scientific-technical revolution has redefined the relationship between science and politics. Increased expectations from science and the increased involvement (in various forms and to varying degrees) of scientists in decision-making processes have shifted their social status in the world, particularly that of political science and scientists. Our party--rejecting the diversionist technocratic thesis of the fatal and irrevocable opposition between the scientization of the process of political leadership and democratic development--always has and continues to promote an original solution for ensuring scientific competence in decision-making processes through democratic forms and procedures, and for blending scientific contributions and the creative initiative of the masses in the leadership of the society: the institutionalized generalization, at all the levels, of the principle of collective work and leadership.

The third major subtopic, "Policies and political actions--comparative studies," highlighted the rapid development of a relatively new field of political science: the analysis of public policies. Great interest was shown in phenomena previously less explored by political scientists, such as how do the measures and actions of public authorities structure the "actors" and "political games." In view of the relatively recent history of the expansion of this sort of research (the paradigms of which were developed only toward the end of the 1960's), the congress attempted to present a kind of balance sheet in this respect, in which stress was put--and that in itself is food for thought--on processes linked to the implementation and evaluation of public policies, highlighting both the significant progress made, as well as still virgin territories, pending questions, and incertitudes in such a difficult area susceptible to different axiological criteria. The participants pointed out as a general insufficiency, the fact that almost all political scientists have not directly tackled the nevertheless decisive problem of forging a public agenda (governmental program) and of the emergence of bets [mize] on governmental actions. The compared and comparative approach furnished a rather useful lever for compiling this balance sheet, but the confrontation of studies according to territories (countries, sectors, etc.) and theoretical issues still needs broad support in order to be practiced at an international scale, despite successfully completed budding research studies.

What can be said about the currents and prospects that can be fruitfully continued and jointly explored in this area? While for a long period of time

the study of public policies favored the national dimension, and consequently, actions of a local or regional interest, recently it has been confronted with a decisive, but sensitive, aspect: there is much talk, sometimes not without exaggeration, about the internationalization, if not even the globalization, of public and political arenas. The issue thus concerns the manner in which the states handle these new areas of political decision and implementation in which there is interaction between national and international factors. These are indeed new issues that must be studied by future political research.

Within the analysis of public policies, the "welfare state" was genuinely put on trial: as a processed ideological version of the contemporary capitalist state, the welfare state can no longer cope with its acute problems. Nevertheless, the phenomena that characterized it are far from having been exhausted: the public sector continues to increase; new forces and alternative strategies have appeared in reaction to collective problems (unemployment, social security, etc.), so that, although the major ideologies on the contemporary capitalist state have changed, the problems must further be examined soberly and without preconceived ideas.

While the recourse to ways of perception and study of realities inspired from institutional or historical analysis seems to be losing ground, the study of public policies permitted a much better understanding of another facet--completely hidden in certain social conditions--of political and administrative operation and change: the ambiguity of consultation processes, lobby strategies, etc. The problem is to find and propose specific methods of analysis that will permit to establish a theory and a study of public action not borrowed from related disciplines such as the theory of decision or the sociology of organizations.

And finally, the problem of comparative study as such presents rather impregnable impediments, because it is not easy to compare public policies among themselves, either because they occur in different states and thus under different systems, or because of other empirical reasons, or simply because of theoretical, conceptual obstacles. However, it is important to persevere along this path and to search for strictly scientific and operative criteria for evaluating and establishing a fresh significant typological attempts (concerning states, government styles, etc.). It is important to avoid, through thorough philosophical substantiation, the "errors" of the past: conceptual pseudoequations resulting from unfounded analogies and scientifically imprecise concepts of no explanatory value that served more as ideological diversions.

The fourth major subtopic was devoted to the international dimension of state activities: "The state in relation to international issues." While the IAPS world congress of Rio de Janeiro had been devoted to the new world order and the emphasis had been put on changes, tendencies, and opportunities for resolving problems, the recent congress endeavored to examine the "agencies" that are at once generators and subjects of the trends and changes presupposed by a new world order in the process of being born. The state is affected by a certain number of problems and trends, some of which stem from the fundamental changes that occurred in the structure and process of international relations, and some resulting from the conventional system of states. The participants

had to deal with several essential theoretical questions: What is currently the status of the nation-state? What is its political effectiveness as the main "actor" of international relations? In view of the increasing assertion of sovereign states, and also of the deepening international interdependence, what can we expect in political theory and practice from the nation-state? What is the role of nonstatel "actors" in the area of foreign policy and international relations, and how should we study it?

These questions undoubtedly highlight that international relations experts must proceed to "refurbish" their methodological equipment and to reconsider the world in keeping with the new relations. Naturally, when stressing this, we also have in mind a certain tendency characteristic not only of certain political scientists or doctrine makers, but also of an internationalist-institutionalized perception of international relations that underestimates the role of the national state as an active, responsible, and sovereign subject of these relations. Some of the participants insisted at length on the current "vulnerability" of the state, exposed to the simultaneous attack of "subnational" forces--secessionist movements, uncontrolled and perhaps uncontrollable activities by nonstatel "actors"--and to increasing constraints imposed by a powerful international network of relations, commercial exchanges, communication, and investments. Nevertheless, it was highlighted that the primary objective of the great majority of political movements is not, as "internationalist" philosophers contend, to create a world community, but, at the current stage, to help each political community acquire the classical attributes of the state: autonomy, independence, and sovereignty. This is so because sovereignty and independence constitute, as British political scientist J.W. Burton correctly stressed in his paper, "universal values of the current world policy."

The problems of war and peace stood at the center of discussions. Reducing the nuclear threat, the security of various parts of the world--particularly Europe--denuclearized zones, the issue of neutrality and neutralism, and especially the role of the nonaligned movement were discussed in the light of the primary imperative of reducing, or at least controlling international conflicts and settling them exclusively through negotiations and political means.

A particular impression was left by the view of our party and its secretary general--soundly anchored in the realities of our time and scientifically substantiated--that--that the problem of halting the arms race, of general, and primarily nuclear disarmament, of precluding the militarization of space, preserving peace and pre-empting a nuclear war that would be fatal for the entire human species, constitute the fundamental issue of our era. We must use any available means to seek and establish ways of waking and stirring the consciousness of all the inhabitants of the planet about the fact that defending peace is in their common and vital interest, without which there is no room for any political option.

The analysis highlighted the fact that, since all the fields discussed are in a process of change, our era is par excellence a transitional era; this explains the multitude of new problems and the difficulty that both rulers and scientists encounter in trying to understand them. That is precisely why,

the most important issue is to distinguish between what is profound and lasting within the ongoing process, and what is superficial and ephemeral, between the mainstream and minor affluents. In other words, to identify fundamental changes and pinpoint their effects. In this context, we must also consider the very topical problem for contemporary political science implied at the debate, of confronting the cognitive paradigms of the science with continually changing realities. In fact, what we mean here is meeting the imperative stressed by Marxism for political theory: the unity between theory and practice. This principle must be understood, however--as is emphasized in our party documents--as a dynamic, not static, unity of theory with practice; it constitutes an ongoing process, continuously produced and reproduced at increasingly higher levels, which favors both an increasing consciousness of practice, and the viability of theory. At the same time, this means expanding the critical attitude toward the reality studied and the theoretical discourse itself, as a guarantee for its scientific nature.

In concluding I want to note the accentuation of a tendency noticed at the previous two IAPS congresses, too: an increasing renunciation of the neopositivist model of the "axiological neutrality" of social and political sciences, and of the outdated "academism" that opposed the "republic of science" to the "Fortress" (Res Publica), dooming science to isolation from the legitimate aspirations of man, of the nation, and of humanity. Today the main concern of political scientists is to seek and find solutions for the many serious social and political problems of the era, thus increasing the contribution of this discipline to mankind's progress toward a world of justice and peace, friendship and cooperation.

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ROMANIA

EFFORTS TO PERFECT MANAGEMENT OF SOCIETY

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 16, 25 Aug 85 p 5-9

[Article by Professor Dr. Sergiu Tamas: "Continuously Improving the Leadership of the Society"]

[Text] The vitality and economic strength of modern nations directly depend on the capability of the leadership to skillfully utilize the resources available. Moreover, in view of the complexity of modern society, socioeconomic leadership itself becomes one of the major sources for development. However, it can fulfill this major role only if, guided by a dynamic and innovative concept characterized by realism and creativity, it does not content itself with echoing socioeconomic changes, but it anticipates and intervenes as a generator of profound changes in dealing with the problems that decide the progress of the society. This decisive role of leadership for better utilizing the material and human potential of a nation and ensuring its development along the path of material and cultural progress is, of course, the outcome of a complex of favorable political and social factors, among the most important of which are innovation, the courage to break with outdated practices and methods, and a determination to promote new, progressive, and revolutionary institutions and methods in socioeconomic leadership.

Promoting a Democratic Leadership

This perception forcefully highlights the historic importance of the ninth party congress in the life of our nation and in socialist Romania's entire development. Activated by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's innovative guidelines, the ninth congress paved the way for a creative and original approach to building socialism and to the leadership of the various sectors of activity and of the Romanian society in general, thus promoting the intensive development of the production forces and continuously improving production and social relations, speeding up the country's socioeconomic progress, and raising our fatherland to higher levels of socialist civilization. Thus, the past 20 years have been marked by continuous efforts to free the theory and practice of leadership from dogmatism and to base them on contemporary science.

In his remarkable report of 1972 on the science of social leadership, the party secretary general called attention to the fact that "the rapidity with which changes are occurring in the world and the increasing mutual dependence among various social, political, economic, scientific-technical, and cultural phenomena ascribe to the science of leadership a fundamental role in ensuring the progress of human society along the path of civilization and progress." Through the years, this strategic guideline marked the analyses carried out and the guidelines established by the party congresses and national conferences and by the various forums of workers socialist democracy. On this basis, forms and methods of leadership have been worked out and continuously improved in various areas of activity.

The historic merit of the ninth congress is that it boldly promoted the idea of leadership innovation and improvement as one of the essential conditions for increasing socioeconomic efficiency, proceeding from the premise that in the area of leadership, only a dynamic approach and never stagnation, can ensure the progress of socialism. In consequence of the resolute implementation of this line, the immobility found in the past in the practice of socioeconomic leadership was replaced by a broad process of improvement and of promoting new forms and methods of organization and management. This process was and is based on the conviction that systematic adjustment of leadership forms and methods to the continuously changing requirements of reality is an important premise for accelerating the development of the entire society. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed in his speech to the plenum of the RCP Central Committee and the party central aktiv devoted to the 20th anniversary of the ninth party congress, "We must always proceed from the fact that our achievements reflect a certain stage and a certain level of development of the production forces and of social relations, and that in the future, in keeping with the general development of the society and of social relations, we will have to devise new forms and improve the existing ones, and continuously expand our democratic institutions, thus ensuring the active and conscious participation of all the people in the leadership of all the sectors of activity."

The refurbishing and improvement of the forms and methods of leadership and organization constitute an expression of the capability of the new system to adopt viable solutions for the complex problems of contemporary development. In contrast, becoming frozen in routine, declaring certain institutions and practices of leadership as "immovable patterns," and coming into conflict with life and with the dynamics of socioeconomic realities inevitably lead to the emergence of negative phenomena and social malfunctions. Amending organizational systems and continuously improving socioeconomic leadership can preclude or eliminate such malfunctions and open up broad prospects for development and manysided progress.

The guidelines issued by the ninth congress permitted the assertion of a scientific, dynamic, and realistic concept of social leadership which materialized in a series of measures that improved the party's forms and methods of guiding and chaneling all political, economic, and social activities, and perfected state organization and the means through which the socialist state acts to lead socioeconomic life in a uniform concept. Consequently, a new and democratic system of socioeconomic management and of

general social leadership was created in the past 2 decades. The management of economic and social units changed from the foundation: one-man management was replaced by various forms of collective management, in keeping with the level of activities. In enterprises and institutions, the general meetings of working people became the supreme managerial bodies of the owners, producers, and end users, and were assigned important duties such as working out the plan, organizing labor and production, ensuring economic efficiency, and promoting cadres. At the same time, democratic leadership bodies were established at a national level: national councils and congresses of working people in industry, agriculture, science, education, culture, and so forth. In its entirety, this democratic system ensures the broad participation of the working people and of all the people in the management of all the sectors of activity and of our entire socialist society.

What we now need is, as the party secretary general stated at the recent plenum of the RCP Central Committee and the central party aktiv, resolute action to ensure the smooth functioning and continuous improving of the system of workers revolutionary democracy and to further perfect the leadership of the society and of planning and self-management, consistently proceeding from the premise that "All the leadership bodies of the society must always and in all circumstances serve the interests of the masses and must be put under the general supervision and leadership of the people."

#### A Militant and Revolutionary Spirit in All Activities

In his speech to the plenum of the RCP Central Committee and the central party aktiv Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu dealt with the major problems of the current stage of development of our country and listed very important tasks for raising the efficiency of socioeconomic activities and better organizing and managing the economy and all other sectors as a basic resource for the progress of Romanian society. He clearly emphasized the decisive role of scientific leadership for thoroughly understanding actual realities and perceiving new processes, mobilizing material and human resources, adopting decisions, and soundly organizing our forces with a view to optimally and on schedule implementing the objectives established. In keeping with the particular complexity of contemporary development, scientific leadership is decisive for studying the dynamics and mutual dependence of the various factors of progress, hammering out a clear and uniform concept of development prospects, and working out effective strategies in each area.

In the light of the tasks established by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the bodies of workers self-management are called upon to improve their working style and methods and to energetically work to optimally fulfill their obligations. The priority tasks of the bodies of workers democracy concern the fulfillment of the 1985 plan and preparations to fulfill the 1986 plan. As the party secretary general stressed, all managerial councils must rally their forces to devise the best organizational and technical methods of exceeding the plan, particularly in the areas of labor productivity, reducing consumption, and ensuring high quality products.

In the past years the bodies of workers revolutionary democracy have gained great managerial experience. Nevertheless, they are naturally still concerned with acquiring a modern managerial style and methods in keeping with the increasing complexity of socioeconomic objectives. Implementing modern methods of analysis and decision-making, introducing forecasting methods in the practice of management and, on this basis, working out alternative projects and scenarios apt to encourage creative thinking, adopting progressive forms of organization, and promoting modern forms of supervision and self-supervision constitute a package of methods that can help improve the working style of managerial bodies.

In view of the collective nature of these bodies, in order to improve their activities it is very important to utilize every opportunity for involving increasing categories of working people in solving specific problems. For the same purpose, task councils must be activated and teams must be organized to deal with specific problems, thus fully capitalizing on the entire creative potential of the collective. Leaders, primarily the communists among them, are dutybound to offer a personal example of a revolutionary working style; they must create a resolute working climate of order and discipline in their units and must encourage a spirit of initiative and innovation. As the party secretary general stressed, "We must endeavor to increasingly enhance personal responsibility, order, and discipline in all the sectors of activity. Any act of indiscipline or disruption of enterprise order harms the entire collective and violates the revolutionary spirit and workers discipline."

Within the process of improving socioeconomic leadership in our country, an important moment was marked by the introduction of the new economic-financial mechanism. The experience gained so far in the implementation of this mechanism shows that it can yield good results. The new economic-financial mechanism provides the necessary tools for each unit to be run on the basis of its own income and expenditure budget; at the same time, it combines the general interests of the society with the interests of each group and each working person, and what is very important, it links incomes to the work performed. The resolute implementation of this mechanism is designed to ensure a good management of the national wealth. In point of fact, the party secretary general has repeatedly called attention to the fact that the material and financial resources allocated to socioeconomic units must be managed very carefully and must be efficiently utilized. "We need," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed at the plenum of the RCP Central Committee and the central party aktiv of last June, "resolute measures to increase the profitability and efficiency of all economic activities. In accordance with general objective laws and with the laws of the country, all the units must operate on the basis of the principle of self-management, self-administration, and self-financing. The working people, as owners, producers, and consumers entrusted with the management of a part of the general wealth of the people, must endeavor to manage well and continuously develop our national resources. We must always keep in mind the fact that the continuous development of the national wealth, greater efficiency and profitability, and increased national revenue are the only way to ensure the manyfaceted progress of the country and a greater material and cultural well-being for the people."

The dynamic role of a scientific leadership is reflected in concerns to continuously improve the economic-financial mechanism by constantly measuring it against real processes and the new requirements of the current stage of development of our socialist society. As the need arises, some forms and methods of implementing this mechanism will of course be replaced by new ones, capable of better meeting the requirements of a modern and advanced economy, so that each managerial body can produce the best possible results.

In particular, as the party requested, we must make greater efforts to continuously develop socialist, state, and cooperative property as the only basis of socialism and communism; at the same time, we must pay due attention to implementing the new principles of socialist remuneration, according to the quality and quantity of work performed, and to improving the system of development fund participation through social shares and the system of profit sharing and material incentives for the owners and producers, by resolutely applying the principle "from each according to his ability and to each according to his work." As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed, "We are building a society of free work, and all the citizens must actively participate in all the activities, while their incomes and living standard must be closely linked to their contribution to the general development of the country." In this spirit, improving the economic-financial mechanism and resolutely implementing it is designed to uproot any bureaucratic administrative practices that erode mass initiative, ignore the differences between the contributions of various working people, and permit certain members of the society to secure incomes out of proportion to their efforts.

Naturally, the development of the democratic system of participation in management and the institutionalization of self-management and self-administration do not in the least detract from the role and responsibilities of our central state bodies for leading the society and implementing the program on building the comprehensively developed socialist society and the country's progress toward communism. On the contrary, the state will continue to bear the sovereign attribute of uniformly leading the entire socioeconomic life. As the 13th congress emphasized, one of the objective requirements for fulfilling the targets of the 1986-90 5-year plan and of Romania's further development up to the year 2000 is to more markedly increase the role of the state in planning, organizing, and uniformly leading all socioeconomic activities on the basis of the single national plan. "It can be stated," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said, "that in the future, too, the more extensive and diversified our socioeconomic development, the more necessary it will be to ensure a uniform leadership concept based on democratic centralism."

The central leadership bodies establish the general configuration of the society's structures and, at the same time, ensure the integration, blending, and coordination in a uniform concept of the various socioeconomic elements and processes, on the basis of a general development strategy. For this purpose, they fulfill important economic and social planning functions, and supervise the general development of the society. It is obvious that all these functions cannot be transferred to socioeconomic self-management without jeopardizing the stability and direction of the entire society, in view of the fact that the tasks assigned to unit self-management bodies have certain natural limitations, imposed by the interests of the community they represent.

Naturally, data processing and microelectronic technologies give each "cell" of the social body access to the available information on the stage and dynamics of the entire society, but the manner of perceiving and the ability to utilize it are inevitably restricted by the limitations inherent to any "cell." Only the interaction of the "cells" within the system of societal leadership permits to utilize, through democratic mechanisms, their decision-making potential.

This approach does not hamper the expansion of democratic processes in the area of leadership. On the contrary, according to the experience made in developing the Romanian socialist society in the past 20 years, it is fully possible to establish a social "architecture" within which the activities of central state bodies are harmoniously blended with those of a system of democratic bodies of self-management and self-administration. The characteristic of this system at the present is its complete integration in the process of uniform leadership of the society. Thus, our party constantly stresses the need to ensure a system of efficient relations between the uniform leadership of the society and the new democratic bodies.

The opening effected by the RCP in the past two decades in the leadership of the socialist society, its permanent efforts to improve leadership style and methods, its search for new institutional methods and organizational structures suited to the changes occurring in the socialist society and in the contemporary world constitute a brilliant expression of innovative potential and social creativity.

#### The Scientific-Technical Revolution and Economic Management

The major requirement of a scientific socioeconomic leadership in the conditions of the contemporary scientific-technical revolution and of the achievement of a new quality of life and work is to achieve intensive economic growth by modernizing production structures, continuously raising the technical and qualitative level of products, and primarily developing highly technical branches and subbranches that efficiently utilize raw materials, energy resources, and social labor.

The theory and practice of management are currently faced with complex situations that require the mobilization of all creativity resources with a view to devising highly efficient solutions to new problems, particularly in connection with the need to restructure and modernize the economy. This orientation toward what is new is aimed not only at technical creativity, but at social renewal, too. The contemporary scientific-technical revolution--which is taking place simultaneously in several areas, such as automation and use of robots and computers in production, development of biotechnologies, and data processing applications in all the areas--makes it necessary to tackle technical problems in close coordination with social issues. Thus, the reorganization and modern equipment of all our economic units, which is one of the priorities of developing economic activities at the current stage, require a new approach to production and labor organization, a new structure of production processes, and a redistribution of the labor force. In keeping with the technical and technological restructuring, appropriate measures must be worked out to organize and improve the technical and professional training of

all the working people, and subsequently to judiciously assign them according to the increasing needs of social labor in various sectors of activity. Naturally, the implementation of these technical-organizational and social objectives implies the elimination of old programs and outdated methods of organization of labor and production.

These requirements must also be reflected at the level of industrial centrals and ministries. The organization of these institutions according to the current requirements of the scientific-technical revolution has become a major concern in all modern states. Proceeding from this organic correlation between organization and the needs of modern production, our party and state continuously endeavor to find a propitious organizational framework for modernization, technical progress, and increased economic efficiency; this is reflected in, among other things, the reorganization of certain industrial centrals and ministries so that they can better fulfill their economic functions.

Of course, however flexible the system of economic management, it cannot resolve all the issues and contradictions of development. Complete solutions require an improved organization of production units. In order to raise the level of economic management in keeping with the new requirements of technological progress, the good, and often excellent equipment provided to economic units must be accompanied by resolute measures to improve production organization and processes, and a better utilization of human resources. The party secretary general's appeal for a genuine revolution in the organization and running of industry is part and parcel of the renovating changes imposed by the technical and technological changes characteristic of the new industrial revolution brought about by the introduction of computers, automation, and robots. Along this line, emphasis will be put in the immediate future not so much on new buildings, but on providing new and highly efficient machinery and installations; this will help raise the index of utilization of the existing production facilities and more rationally utilize investment funds, will cut down investment costs, and will contribute to doubling labor productivity in the coming 5-year plan.

The party has decided that the process of reorganizing all our economic units and providing them with modern equipment should be completed by 1987. This effort will permit the transition to a preponderantly intensive economy capable of ensuring products of a high technical and qualitative level. At the same time, the promotion of key technologies will have a positive impact on efficiently utilizing raw materials, energy resources, and social labor.

the contemporary scientific-technical revolution opens up new prospects for developing raw material resources. Aside from the more rational utilization and reduced consumption of raw and other materials, it has become possible and necessary to recycle and reutilize raw and other materials throughout the economy. A radical turning point in this respect requires, of course, both technological and social measures, and changes in organization and management. More precisely, a positive change in production organization and in the

coordination of production and consumption requires, aside from technological solutions, a forceful mobilization designed to improve the existing structures and to identify measures capable of promoting the implementation of the objectives established.

The impact of the scientific-technical revolution on the development of the socialist society is felt, through the medium of informatics, in economic and social management, too. The sophisticated technology provides means for improving management at all social levels. Data processing technologies are open to innovation, in the sense that their utilization is not inevitably crystalized in certain social forms, but on the contrary, affords opportunities for the establishment of new institutions of democratic leadership. From this viewpoint, the microprocessor and data processing systems are open to virtually any utilization, and it is up to social inventiveness to find applications suited to the ideals and values of a socialist society.

A scientific leadership works out its strategies and specific measures for implementing them on the basis of the study and observance of objective laws. Thus, it is very important to take into account the requirements of raising labor productivity and economic efficiency as a general law of economic and social progress.

#### Organizing Production in Labor According to Current Requirements

The law of saving time is fully valid under socialism, too. The clearest demonstration of this truth is the negative consequences of a certain voluntarism and subjectivism which, at a given point in the history of socialism, ignored the role of this objective law in the name of a so-called "specific" trait of the new system. As Marx stressed, "saving time and the planned allocation of labor time among the various branches of production remains the first economic law of collective production." The greater the labor productivity, the better utilized are the resources of a nation and the better the conditions for meeting the material and cultural needs of the society members. Under socialism, the problems of raising labor productivity and efficiency, and of increasing the profitability of production are of interest to the entire society, and are one of the primary objectives of each working collective and each economic or social unit.

These general truths are even more clearly highlighted by the scientific-technical revolution, which brings great changes in the area of labor productivity. While the industrial revolution, which replaced manual production by machine work, opened up a wide field of action for the law of saving time in the area of production, the current industrial revolution, which introduced data processing, automation, and robots paved the way for rapidly increasing productivity not merely in the area of production, but in all the other areas of social activity. On this objective basis, the directives of the 13th congress envisage doubling labor productivity by 1990 as compared to 1980. The achievement of this important strategic objective implies, aside from technical progress, which will contribute to raising labor productivity by 55 percent, improving the organization and management of production and labor, which will account for the other 45 percent of the



One of the important factors for implementing the program on more markedly increasing labor productivity and improving labor organization and norms in the 1983-85 period and beyond it up to 1990, is raising the qualifications and improving the professional training of the working people. The quality of the human factor is becoming increasingly important for an intensive type of production, under which the degree of complexity of labor is higher and thus, the contribution of professional training to fulfilling the tasks established in greater. At the same time, it is necessary to increase the responsibility of each working person for the manner in which he fulfills his tasks, because modern and highly technical production is incompatible with superficiality, negligence, or irresponsibility.

The consistent efforts of our party and state to raise the quality and technical level of production are reflected in a special program, the resolute implementation of which is a must for effecting profound changes along this line. The scientific and realistic emphasis put on quality expresses the requirements of a dynamic economy and of developing exchanges among nations.

The assertion of a progressive concept, a tradition even, of quality is the outcome of consistent efforts to promote not only professional training, but also socialist and workers education. The issue of quality can no longer be interpreted as the concern of quality control of the already manufactured product; it has become an inherent part of the entire production process. As the party and its secretary general stress, this means that each working person must be taught to "produce quality" and consequently, must be aware of the requirements of each phase of the manufacture of a product, and must bear precise responsibilities for each phase of production.

Thus, the issue of product quality must be approached in a complex manner, beginning with the design of the product and through its manufacture and testing in actual practice. At the same time, permanent attention must be given to the rapid evolution of technology and to changing demands, so that the functional characteristics of the products and their esthetic presentation can be constantly updated. The provisions established along this line in the 13th congress directives are aimed at increasing the share of high performance products capable of competing in the world markets. Thus, by the end of 1990 almost 95 of our products will be of a world level, and 2-5 percent will even exceed that level.

One of the essential means of improving production and labor organization is reducing consumption and more markedly raising the index of utilization of raw and other materials, fuel, and energy. Managerial bodies at unit and macrosocial levels have an obligation to carefully supervise the implementation of the resolute party-state policy of saving material and energy resources, and to establish and implement measures to eliminate obsolete technology and replace them by highly productive ones. The management collectives of each unit are obligated to study every possibility of reducing consumption and to establish specific programs for this purpose. Throughout the economy, energy consumption per unit of national income must be reduced by over 20 percent by 1990 as compared to 1985. In point of fact, the energy

consumption indexes also express the quality level attained by the productive apparatus of a nation. In order to achieve resolute steps along this line we must, of course, further increase the responsibility of the bodies of collective management in enterprises, centrals, and ministries for implementing a strict system of savings and efficiently managing the existing resources.

At the current stage of development of our country, when we have great programs not only for the coming 5-year plan but beyond it, too, up to the year 2000, improving the scientific management of the economy and of social life is an objective need and an essential condition for optimally utilizing our resources and carrying out intensive creative efforts to devise new solutions and better organizational structures, capable of ensuring the implementation of the objectives established in a shorter time and more efficiently. The 13th congress decisions and Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's guidelines and recommendations provide our party and people with a scientific and coherent concept of what is needed to propel our economy and social life to a new and higher stage of development. In these conditions, to ensure that management indeed becomes one of the major resources of progress, strategies must be worked out in all areas and at all levels of organization to implement this concept in a spirit of initiative, flexibility, and innovation. In this manner, the productive potential of our country will be utilized in keeping with the requirements of an era of profound structural changes, generated by the new scientific-technical revolution.

12782

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ROMANIA

## REGRETS, TRIBULATIONS OF EMIGRE DOCTOR IN U.S.

Bucharest MUNCITORUL SANITAR in Romanian 18 May 85 p 8

[Article by Cornel Tabacu: "A Stop on the Road of Life"]

[Text] He is a man whose years do not give him the right to make a virtue out of decay and, as I listen to him, the nostalgic forays he makes into a not too distant past are unconvincing. He binds his soul to the recesses of his memories; he voluntarily abandons the conscience of his position in life. Until December 1983, employed amongst those who have a modest but necessary role in life, the medical profession gave him the undeniable capacity to speak of life.

Why did he not continue to do so after that date?

Illegally crossing the eastern border, Dr Mihai Popescu, in but a few hours and in full knowledge of what he was doing, lost his identify gained over three decades of professionalism. If on the morning of 9 December 1983 he was still called "doctor", a day later as an admittee to the Vienna "Traiskirchen" refugee camp he is convinced that not everywhere is a man the measure of all his accomplishments. The loneliness--despite the fact that he shares this dwelling with 30 other illegal emigres--envelopes him from the very first hours; a new sense of life, a new relationship with society demands listlessness. The family living room in which his wife and daughter (who thought him on an overdue vacation at the Hercules Resort!) had waited for him, as always, with a smile that gave certainty to the future was now replaced by a flophouse with a common table where each had his own mess kit with those cheap metal spoons and forks. The patients at the Berceni hospital who every morning used to respectfully bow their heads to him and thank him for the care he showed them now became painful memories. The duty call was preferred to the morning roll call.

Now Dr Mihai Popescu is a stranger in a strange land.

Yet perhaps his refugee status isolates the doctor only from his profession but not from his life. Could this be so? I listened to him:

"When I discovered that in the Linz district of Austria alone there were 70 unemployed doctors I suddenly lost faith in 'the miracle of Western Europe.' 'But America?' I asked myself."

The United States received the Romanian doctor--sent from the Austrian refugee camp--with an austerity that woke him from the daydream that here medicine constitutes an integral part of the intellectual milieu.

"In April 1984, under the auspices of the Lutheran Church, I found myself in Fargo, North Dakota. I stayed there until 15 May, in a modest little room filled with beds. After that, my address was a community home (a poorhouse) where a local service gave me food stamps (certificates used to buy daily food). I took an intensive English language course until September when I managed to get to New York--as far as I could tell, a totally run-down city. The job service (for locating employment) would accept job applications only from those who knew English perfectly."

"The assistance I received from welfare was insufficient. And then, still thinking that eventually they would recognize my medical status, I 'killed time' doing degrading jobs further and further removed from earlier life: technician-pharmacist, hospital attendant, transportation worker, gas jockey and dishwasher in a private restaurant."

Question Where did you live during this time?

"Because rents are exorbitant--500 dollars a month in a country where the average salary is about \$1000--my situation, which became more precarious every day, forced me to accept anything: modest lodgings with Nita Popa, himself a man who abandoned his native land and, now at age 78, works as a street vendor peddling sausages to keep himself alive."

"During this time I sent out 17 job applications to various institutions but invariably I received the same, unconvincing, response" 'We regret to inform you that the position for which you applied was filled by another applicant.'

Question You were convinced that in the end, in America, you would be able to secure a position as a doctor?

"Yes, until I learned of the roadblocks placed in front of foreign doctors. The 'medical examination'--which followed the test in which you had to prove you spoke fluid English--was a professional examination wherein you had to respond to exactly 600 questions in a very short period of time. Passing this test allowed you to become a 'resident' (probation period) for 2 to 4 years depending on your speciality. The 'residency' is followed by a final examination which, theoretically, allows you to be certified as a doctor. This whole winnowing process takes about 6 years."

Question After that, are you offered a post?

"No! That gives you the right to occupy a position. But I have to find the position myself."

Question Is that a problem?

"It most certainly is, the U.S. doctors have sought out these positions long in advance."

[Question] Did you learn about conditions in Western hospitals?

"No! But what did impress me were the enormous sums the patient pays the hospitals where he stays or is treated. A couple of examples will illustrate this point: three weeks in a hospital cost \$7,000. I knew a woman with a chronic ailment who had to come up with \$35,000 for hospitalization and treatment. And I could go on and on with these examples."

With a resignation that brought on agonizing silence, Dr Mihai Popescu realized by the end of 1984 that the role we play in the life is, in the end, dependent upon what we produce.

Desiring to reintegrate into a work environment where the common denominator is a problem on the human scale, wanting to return to a society where medicine constitutes a school of thought and the devotion to duty of those who practice it overwhelms any ideological considerations, Popescu requests to return to his native land.

Today he is back among his own kind after a regrettable stop on the road of life. For now he has realized that if only some people would understand how little they need to be happy, they would avoid the bitter days of life.

Nostalgic tribute paid to memories!

12280

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YUGOSLAVIA

# ANOMALIES OF PRIVATE PROSPERITY AMIDST CRISIS EXPLORED

Belgrade DUGA in Serbo-Croatian No 298, 28 Jul 85 pp 30-32

[Article by Slobodan Inic: "All Rich -- No One a Rich Man"]

[Text] In capitalism, the bourgeoisie, by enriching itself, also enriched society. In our country, however, some social strata have enriched themselves while impoverishing society.

It would be difficult to conceive of America without one Rockefeller, but it seems that with Jugovic Snalazljivko an impoverished state with wealthy citizens is quite possible.

Private enrichment in the form of capital, as is the case in capitalism, also had its progressive nature, even though in such a society a class of extremely wealthy people exists as a necessary social stratum in it, since it also contributed to social enrichment. Compared to the rich people on Dynasty the rest actually remained poor, but relatively poor -- people who can live decently.

In Yugoslav postwar (and postrevolutionary) society, a different "situation" is observed in the creation and accumulation of wealth. It can be described in an almost aphoristic manner. First the rich became poor, and then the former poor became rich! Unfortunately, such people will impoverish the state. Dusko Radovic would simply ask, "Weren't they just jealous of them?"

How can one explain the acquired wealth of those social groups in Yugoslav society which in any case arouse public envy, ideological threats, and the plebeian hand of dissatisfaction to the point of rebellion?

## A View of the Courtyard

In contrast to the classical bourgeoisie, which became rich and enriched itself in such a way as to elevate its separate class interest historically to the level of society's interest ("the private as social"), thus achieving the undeniable development of the capitalist countries of Western Europe, certain parts and factions of the "middle strata" will enrich themselves in socialism, in spite of the revolutionary negation of the "private as social" capital system through the illegal (but real) "social as private" system.

It is well known that at one time the bourgeois became rich due to their progressive social role: the efficient mobilization of production forces. Such people created the wealthy European societies. It is only in our country that there is an unfounded myth, influenced by previous doctrinary proletarian-Marxist literature, that the bourgeois are socially "bad," fat, and selfish people who force a poor worker to work 16 hours without bread and water until they kill him like a dog.

If the bourgeoisie died out in our country with the revolution, wealth continued to live. Its new followers are achieving it and accumulating it by privatization from within the social. As Svetozar Markovic would say, a petty idea has remained: acquiring money. This, in and of itself, should not be socially prohibitive, but the question that arises is how. Do citizens in socialism enrich society when they enrich themselves, or do they in fact enrich themselves in such a way as to impoverish it? Vlada Bulatovic Vib is obviously ready to make jokes about a possible response to the question thus phrased:

"It is very bad to become rich, and very beautiful to enrich oneself. How can you renounce wealth when you have not even acquired it yourself? You don't know who is more corrupt: the one who enriched himself honestly, or the one who wrote justifications for him. Justice helped the honestly rich to become rich. The dishonestly rich got rich by themselves. The old rich men became rich and did not ask anyone. The new rich men first ask whether it is justified, and only then do they enrich themselves. The old rich men were disgusting usurers, and the new rich men are charming possessors of justified property. The old rich men turned their view of the world away from the poor. The new rich men have the same view of the world as the poor. They just have a different view of the courtyard."

I believe that these aphorisms bring a certain amount of relaxation into the seriousness of the analytical penetration and identification of the prevalent forms of enrichment in Yugoslav society, and especially of its social representatives. Personally, in this regard I am subject to an association that would lend itself to being expressed as a striking caricature. In fact, I am under the impression that our state and its citizens are engaged in a process of "stealing money from somebody," mutually putting their hands into the pockets of others. If the sociological observation that is being officially seized upon is correct -- that our state has become a poor state of wealthy citizens -- then it turns out that it has finally been stolen!

But regardless of how someone has enriched himself, in whatever manner, he should be told that the concept of "social ownership" in production conditions that are still nonsocial (socialization) has objectively not been able to extinguish people's need for a fetish of the ownership of material wealth, especially in the case of a work ethic that has not been legitimized by the economy.

#### Life in an "Artistic Manner"

Is the enrichment of people possible in socialism, and if it is, what is it like and how is it possible?

Viewed in principle, socialism is a social system that rejects any kind of enrichment that results from the exploitation of man by man. It is against an economic-social situation in which a few people have millions earned at the expense of millions of people being exploited. But socialism is also not a society of poor people who are equal in their poverty, since people have "equal stomachs." Socialism is first of all a society in which a majority of the people can live decently from their work; live well, live better, and live in an "artistic manner," as Herbert Marcuse would say.

Yugoslav political and scientific thought has in part been dominated by the earlier ideas of socialism as "poverty in equality" and "equality in poverty." In practice, however, there has been a very strong spirit of social egalitarianism and a leveling in the division of what is earned. Most people believe that that is how one lives in socialism. Many people, however, feeling that equality has only been halfway achieved, are willing to criticize the postwar order in Yugoslavia, which promised so much in this area and accomplished so little. There are very few people who do not understand the recognition of equality in the general sense as a rejection of differences in work-economic contributions. I believe that we have always had behind us the period when the successful development of production forces was achieved on the basis of the "proletarian" spirit: give as much as you can, take as little as you can, and divide "more equally" in equality. The social development of socialism in the future will be possible only if first similarity and not equality is accepted in the distribution of newly created value.

If equality=socialism, and this equation is taken in a doctrinary manner, without a link to reality, then it should be considered that this would be the best way to eat up everything collectively and "equally," without doing anything, so that afterwards our entire nation would be at an even lower level of economic and social development. The ones who benefit most from such "socialism" are the fighters against enrichment who have enriched themselves in the past by hunting unnatural (read: unfair) enrichment in socialism.

One should consequently consider it less of a problem for YUGOSOCA [Yugoslav society?] that certain social strata have enriched themselves while impoverishing society, but much more of a problem that a majority is living honestly at the expense of society, doing so little that it cannot be paid less. If this situation has and can have some good side, in addition to the majority of those that are negative and harmful for Yugoslav society, then it consists of the fact that for the time being (and possibly further on as well) there has been a decrease in the intensity of social tensions between a minority that is responsible for social differences in our society that are not the result of labor, as it is officially expressed in our country, and the relative majority whose life is paid for in advance; between the "unjust/unjustified" rich and the "free-living" people. This, in my opinion, explains why there are no social upheavals in Yugoslavia with political and systemic implications. And there are none, since the rich did not enrich themselves in such a way and to such an extent (the rich in our country are truly compassionate) that the people could not live, especially doing little, and that that people would have to rebel against undeserved wealth. When the "people" can live, and moreover with a rationalizing concept of liberation from work, no rich man's wealth is punishable, no matter how dishonestly it



was gained. The moderation in regard to enrichment without labor should in part be interpreted as a consequence of a change in people's attitudes toward work and the economic mechanisms of distribution. I think that people in our country have begun to realize on a wide scale that one cannot live decently by work and by distribution according to the results of work, in view of all the defects in the practice of such "distribution." "It is easy to shout, Long live work -- why don't you live by working" -- is the message of one slogan. Working people are crushed by the belief, confirmed innumerable times, that they are paid less than they contribute. This feeling, regardless of the degree to which it may not correspond to the actual situation in individual cases, creates a psychological climate for idleness on a broader social scale ("whether you have worked or not, your radio plays" [RADIO ILI NE RADIO, SVIRATI RADIO] -- simply a dominant inclination in life that it is better to work without working ("Of all work, the best is idleness") than to work by working.

Who are the rich in our country? How large is their wealth? How many of them are there? And how did they become rich and enrich themselves?

#### Property Without Control

It probably would not be difficult to answer such questions in America. Due to this, we know that the richest family there is the Getty family, whose wealth is estimated at more than \$4 billion. I am afraid that for our country it is not possible to give answers to the above questions, since in Yugoslavia there are no systematic records of the property of citizens, and so it is not known how many of them, due to their business, have added another 9 famous zeros after the 1. In old dinars, of course. But the people spread rumors. "Beautiful, isn't it? Here's me, for example. I work... and" -- the average citizen reasons with dissatisfaction. Although there has been no corresponding research in the area of the sociology of property, some incomplete data concerning the breakdown of taxes on the total earnings of citizens indicate that in the last 5-6 years, the rich should be sought, as indicated by the official statistics, among those whose total incomes exceed 100 million old dinars. Independent craftsmen, hotel owners, singers, and musicians are predominant. (If one excludes these "entertainers," this is the reason for all those who are ready to complain about the private sector.) Creators, in the narrow sense -- scholars, writers, university professors -- can be considered a definite minority in the structure of tax-payers. In any case, Yugoslavia does not have more than 15,000 tax-payers.

In Yugoslav society today, we should distinguish three main ("rich") social cliques:

- 1) the social stratum of "social private owners" (a quasi-class of confiscators of social property, who on the basis of an administrative and management function create private property, and which is manifested in the following varieties: a. the rentier element from the revolution; b. the functionary parts of the political-party authority; c. suppliers of large investments; d. people who trade in social capital; and e. the lumpen-salesmen);

2) social groups of legal rich men with unjustified wealth obtained in a dishonest manner -- "dispersive rich men" (a. the faction that enriched itself in accordance with the principle of "everything that is not forbidden is permitted"; b. the faction that obtained its wealth by utilizing the weaknesses of the legal system and legal mechanisms; and c. the faction of the petty plutocratic element with a passion for money in and of itself, which has accumulated considerable funds in its possession by exploiting the favorable conditions of economic policy with respect to citizenship, especially credit policy on the basis of a "cheap dinar" policy at a time of high inflation);

3) the dregs, possessing wealth as criminals (a. those committing petty economic crimes on an continual basis; b. those profiteering from everything of everyone; c. embezzlers of "useful transactions"; d. thieves "from knowledge" or transactive rich men; e. subverters of the economic system; and f. organized international robbers.

#### Privileges Increasingly Slighter

In our country the rich did not enrich themselves due to what is "private," as a class with private capital, since the revolution broke the spine of such capital. In fact, the only partially permitted and restricted "private sector" has not led to privatism that is crystallized financially with unimagined wealth, although such cases have occurred as a result of the lack of a good tax system, ineffective inspectorate monitoring, and the absence of competition because of the authorities' vacillating attitude toward the "private sector"; instead, from within what is social in the broader sense, a process of privatization has come into play as the usurpation of various forms of value. I know that socialists are possible in capitalism, but as one can see, it seems that "capitalists" are also possible in socialism. This is an unusual situation that in any case irritates the ideologists of "pure" socialism.

Nevertheless, when I think about what has led to privatistic complications, I cannot help pointing out the ultimate cause, the cause of all causes. It is undoubtedly the complex of the political administration of the economy, which is inefficient and has as its corresponding reverse side a dialectical pair: the privatization of conditions and funds in formalized social ownership. This could be the basis for the emergence of a specific social group of "social private owners." In the literal sense, this stratum is engaged in the confiscation of social property on a noneconomic basis. For me, in the metaphorical sense, this is the person of Jacobinus, who continues living on the back of a peaceful farmer. Such an image is more imaginative and instructive, and less political. Nevertheless, it symbolizes the place of generation, the main origins of enrichment.

It must be stated that in reality this symbol is firmly defined through the predominance of politics as distributed power, which also uses its management authority to engage in the confiscation of the surplus of labor. Looking backward, however, in one period of our development it was probably a good way in the "productivist" view to initiate the development of production forces and to supply investments. Naturally, without illusions in this regard, politocracy, which the students called the "red bourgeoisie" in 1968, did not

just control this surplus of labor. It also usurped it. Admittedly, I am not an adherent of the leftist thesis that in our country the politocrat is living like a bourgeois. I think that this would not correspond to the truth. Today he has considerable difficulties in maintaining the privileges that he usurped earlier, beginning with the "right" to a car, a chauffeur, a villa, free vacations... Not even his functions are secure anymore. What I am stating here, and what I think is new, consists of the fact that a long time ago a specific internal "class struggle" began within the Yugoslav politocracy over who would lose or preserve his privileges. But regardless of the restriction of the politocrat's participation in usurping the surplus of labor, as a result of the reduction in the size of the surplus of labor, and thus not as a result of social pressure from the producers who throw them out of their entrepreneurial posts and thus deprive them of their privileges -- control over and usurpation of the surplus will still continue.

But there is something surprising here. It seems that the working people have chosen a sort of version of a "class struggle" against their bureaucracy, without overworking themselves. This is unlikely in and of itself. Nevertheless, the decline in the productivity of labor shows how far this "struggle" has progressed. In an ideal and tendentious respect, it is possible that one day there will be a pure "non-exploitative situation" when the politocracy will not have anything to control or usurp.

The crisis of Yugoslav politocracy did not occur because it gave itself privileges compared to the working people. As we saw on the preceding pages, the people were able to cope. The personal-income "corruption" of people on a massive scale, the independence of salaries from the other income earned by an economic subject, the hybrid dispersal of workers and peasants, moonlighting, and the flourishing of the "gray economy" -- all of this has reduced the privileges of the politocracy, but what is more important is that it has relativized them. For a person from the people who can also obtain for himself in some way something that is not the result of his work, the privileges of those who lead him and guide society do not appear so unjust, no matter how great they are.

It is almost certain now that the problem does not consist just of the politocratic usurpation of part of the surplus of labor as some sort of "price of management," but to an even greater extent it consists of the ineffectiveness of the control over the surplus, the unsuccessful supply of investments, the lag in the mobilization of production forces, and a type of bureaucratic entrepreneurialism that leads the entire society into economic and social failures. It has become crucial not only to criticize the privileges of the politocracy in relation to its poor management of society and the economy, but also to raise the question of the "price" of management in general. Above all, I believe that in this respect self-management is the cheapest.

The social private owner in our country is not manifested just through rentierism for "services," the "revolution" and an agency of political authority, "functions," "posts," and "positions." As can be seen from our

classification, there are also other varieties of "social private owners" for whom resocialization, literally the privatization of income, is being conducted.

### Teeth Broken Twice

First I will point out the mechanisms of the systems that produce resocialization.

Let us review the experiences of the past. Twice we have "broken" our teeth in regard to the "private sector." The first time was when the measures of revolutionary nationalization were implemented. It was conducted in such a way, with respect to small and medium-sized enterprises, that later we only had economic damage. I do not wish to dwell on this now. Mentioning it is important, however, since it was not economically justified, nor could it mean true socialization, and so in time the fruit of privatism arose from within what was nationalized ("taken over by the state"). This indicates that at a certain degree of social development private ownership is historically productive. If it is not given room for development, and in this way only its elimination is possible, then it will in any case arise in the "state" and "social" sector. Appearing in such a manner, "social privatism" is parasitic in comparison with the classical one, since classical privatism, in creating for itself, also creates for society, naturally with an appropriate tax policy, while social privatism transfers the social to the private. It partially diverts what was produced socially into distribution in a privatist manner. It is exempt from taxation and does not pay contributions.

This is the course of postrevolutionary society, which did not abolish people's passion for possessing material goods. The appearance of the private within the framework of the socialized indicates that the previously private was not entirely ripe for socialization. Unfortunately, the consequences are as follows: the social is economically inefficient, the newly appearing private lives on the social, and the classical private is vegetating. This tells us how the main line in the degradation of social ownership has run over the last two decades.

Generally speaking, the first indication of the decay of social ownership is the transformation of the social into the private. This process has several of its own forms and systemic causes. Let us begin first of all with the forms. One of them is what people simply call theft. In official language, this is an economic crime. All indications are that this form is developing, percentage-wise, and I do not want to dwell on it. Any effective state would know how to deal with it. Unfortunately, another form is more interesting, one of a systemic nature, which makes it possible for the social to be poured into the private. This is a legal form and no one goes to prison for it. It is twice as dangerous, however. Discoveries made by economists show that this form, in addition to the one transferring the social to the private, leads to at least three more undesirable consequences. First, it decreases the productivity of social resources for production, with an incalculable lag in production forces; second, it reduces the growth rate; and third, it increases the rate of inflation.

Well, everyone will ask, what is the cause of this? There are several causes. I will just point out a few of them. Let us follow the situation created by systemic measures with respect to the real social costs of production. Since 1970 there has been a decrease in the amortization of social resources, which increases the amortization period. Today it amounts to more than 20 years. According to some calculations, the overthrow of the average amortization rate and the extension of the amortization period made it possible over the last 15 years for around 15 billion dollars to be poured into various forms of property and consumption. This was a catastrophic blow to social ownership.

Otherwise, eliminating the price of "social capital" (the use of social resources) had its own incalculable consequences for the attitude toward social resources. I would like to cite this with a true story about "Alajbeg's straw." In fact, even though this systemic measure led to an inefficient investment policy, a decline in saving in business operations, and underestimation of the real costs of production, it did make possible an artificial increase in income. It increased personal incomes and general consumption independently of work. According to the findings of Prof. Ivan Maksimovic, this involved a transfer of as much as 20 and possibly even 30 billion dollars in social resources into private ones.

It is clear today that these funds represent lost accumulation, which "thanks to" systemic mechanisms and measures, went for various forms of consumption of a non-productive nature, personal and general. Let us consider one more example. The measures for devaluing the dinar without a corresponding revaluation of social resources meant a direct transfer of the social to the private. The differences between the interest on credits loaned to citizens and the rate of inflation also made it possible for social resources to be put into private hands. The consequence of all of this was that total foreign exchange savings exceeded 1,000 billion dinars. It has been shown that private funds are growing considerably more rapidly than social ones, since, as we observe, if a society irrecoverably loses its accumulation then it seeks the necessary accumulative resources abroad. According to the findings of the lucid economic analyst Drage Buvac, in relation to debts (foreign accumulation) and the total savings of citizens (private owners), 80 percent of the current value of the basic resources is mortgaged to foreign countries and private individuals in this country.

#### Billionaires Without Working

What is impressive is the number of ways in which people become rich in a socialized country that announces itself as such and that ascribes prominent significance to that determination in an ideological sense.

Where should we begin?

Officially, it is considered that there are several methods of achieving enormous earnings that are not in accordance with the work invested, especially, it is stressed, since this is made possible by violation of the regulations pertaining to the area of trade in goods and services. It is typical that enrichment is viewed as a deviation from "a well-formulated and planned systemic aspect that is spoiled by citizens."

It is to be proven that enormous earnings are not a consequence of "imperfections and inconsistent implementation of the regulations in the system," although there are cases that confirm this, but a matter of the system applied and the policy conducted in the past. Marijan Korosic shows, in his excellent analyses, that "the economic system, and particularly the distribution system in it, do not eliminate but rather retain and even increase the inequalities..." Thus, if citizens are not able to satisfy their needs through social services, then they will legally opt for private ones, or more explicitly, the provision of "social-private" services. This corresponds to the kind of "gray" sector of the economy that is vividly portrayed by the ambitions of the son of Dobric's cartoon hero "Ljuba-truba," whose view is as follows: "Daddy, I want to work in the social sector in a private manner."

What is even worse is that the taxation of citizens does not include all earnings. Payment of a tax that is not proportionate to overall economic strength does not have any corrective or even incentive function. In the technical sense, the methods people use to get money are amazing. Incidents of certain activities being conducted without approval for work have almost become the rule. A better version is concealing income.

Let me just recall that there are marked occurrences of wide ranges in average personal incomes among groups and industries. This is a consequence of different conditions for business activity, the formation of price parities, etc. The ranges go as far as 1:14 for the same occupation among different branches of industry. According to Korosic's calculations, if last year's inequalities in earnings between workers at the so-called top and bottom of the ladder (of branches) are generalized for 40 years, it turns out that the sum of 430 million old dinars in differences is accumulated. He concludes that the inter-branch ratios of earnings for standardized work have been increasing since 1980, at a time when there has been a noticeable real decline in the average personal income of the Yugoslav worker.

Indirect earnings on the basis of joint expenditure funds in branches that are in a better position than average are bringing about an intensification of the differences. The phenomena of apartments being obtained more easily by those who have above-average personal incomes, so that this becomes a special form of compensation, especially when there are no economic rents, apartments being leased, and housing credits being evaluated, clearly indicate methods of acquisition without working.

Even though we have not discussed unemployment, since it deserves a separate review, it should be emphasized that this form of inequality in Yugoslavia is the basic one.

Social differences in our country are significant, and are being intensified more and more. I view them as linked to a system that squeezes a quasiclass of "social private owners" out of itself. Let a fact cited by Milovan Markovic illustrate the depth of social differences in our country. Specifically, one tenth of the families with the highest incomes have approximately the same share in the distribution of total income as the 45 percent of households with the lowest incomes.

On the basis of everything stated above, let us ask whether we are against enrichment without work. Does this mean that enrichment on the basis of work is possible in socialism? If we are fighting against billionaires being created illegally, then is the legal enrichment of billionaires possible? In my opinion, no one can enrich himself on the basis of work, but it makes it possible for the largest number of people to live well. I think that it is necessary to destroy this illusion, no matter how well it sounds, that people can become rich like capitalists on the basis of the principle of "equal earnings for equal work" in socialism.

I also consider it to be true that most of the rich people among us became rich legally -- naturally, within the framework of the existing system and the policy that has been followed. It is another matter that such people are now beginning to disturb our plebeian clubs.

Perhaps some one could say, in view of all the above, that there might be an organic deficiency in the functioning of social ownership. I think instead that we have not developed forms of social ownership that a producer can experience as his own, individual ones. It is only in that way that a creator of value can be turned toward the development of social property and expanded reproduction based on it, and not the parasitic extraction of its substance.

It is only then that one can expect a relatively harmonious social situation or wealthy conditions: everyone being rich without anyone being a rich man.

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YUGOSLAVIA

SUCCESSIVE SENTENCES FOR SESELJ ANALYZED

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[Article by Velizar Zecevic: "Three Sentences"]

[Text] Sarajevo Professor Vojislav Seselj was sentenced in July 1984 to 8 years in prison. In November the Supreme Court of Bosnia-Herzegovina reduced his sentence to 4 years, and at the beginning of July 1985 the Federal Court finally "weighed" his crime at one year and 10 months of imprisonment.

When it was reported a short time ago that with the third sentence (commutation) the sentence of Vojislav Seselj, a Sarajevo lawyer and sociologist, his sentence had been cut in half for the second time, it became obvious that in the interval of somewhat more than a year and with a sentence ranging from 26 to 96 to 22 months of imprisonment, the point of view regarding his sentence had changed three times, and the view of Seselj's crime twice.

The first conviction, by the District Court in Sarajevo on 9 July last year (with Ilija Potparic the chairman of the court) dealt with Seselj's activities under the penal provision of "counterrevolutionary activity" (article 114 of the SFRY Criminal Code) and sentenced him to 8 years in prison. (The minimum sentence envisioned for the proven act of counterrevolutionary activity is 5 years in prison; the maximum is 15.)

The Supreme Court of Bosnia-Herzegovina (with Ante Varunek the chairman of the court), as the appellate court, found that the statements in the appeals by Seselj and his lawyers could be partially taken into account, and it therefore commuted the original sentence in three respects: "...It limited the real scope of the criminal activity, and characterized the activity thus reduced as the criminal act of hostile propaganda under article 133 of the Criminal Code, and for this criminal act, it pronounced a sentence upon the accused of 4 years' imprisonment." At the time when this sentence was passed, 20 November 1984, Vojislav Seselj had already been in prison for almost 6 months. He was arrested in May, before the beginning of the first trial.

And finally, there was the third and last sentence.



The Federal Court (with Obrad Cvijovic the chairman of the court) commuted the previous sentence, declared Seselj guilty, and once more "limited the scope of the criminal activity" and on 2 July 1985 sentenced Vojislav Seselj to serve one year and 10 months in prison.

#### The Same Dilemmas

Thus, the three courts, on three occasions, judged and passed three sentences, differing not only in severity and in characterization, but also in the impression that they conveyed to the public. The undersigned NIN journalist spent several days following the original trial in Sarajevo, and naturally, not just in passing the reactions of Sarajevo observers in the courtroom and outside it. Before the original sentence was pronounced, curiosity was mainly expressed in the form of a dilemma: whether the court would accept the characterization of the public prosecutor (advocate Vera Jovanovic) that Seselj's crime should be designated as counterrevolutionary activity (very strict penalties), or whether it would be considered as hostile propaganda (up to 5 years in prison).

The first trial and the last two confirmed that the same dilemmas tormented both the courts and the judges: at the three levels at which he was tried, it was shown that the original severity in viewing Seselj's crime was increasingly milder, and thus the sentences also become increasingly more moderate. Of the three possibilities -- counterrevolutionary activity, hostile propaganda, or finding him innocent of criminal responsibility -- the courts have made use of two. None of the three courts, however, seriously dealt with the third possibility: that Seselj was innocent.

For the most part, the three convictions and the three sentences satisfied the expectations of the observers, except for the extreme ones, for whom the most severe sentence (the first one) was too mild, or the mildest (last) sentence was too severe.

In any case, Seselj's three sentences are not only part of his personal fate before the Law, with all three courts finding that he had committed an offense both as a faculty teacher and as a public employee; in a way, they are also a magnifying glass under which the courts themselves, the trials, and even the judges themselves were seen. The sentences are so different that their twofold reduction with each subsequent conviction leads to the conclusion that in this threefold trial, the higher courts tried not only the accused and convicted Seselj, but also in a way the lower courts and the sentences that they had pronounced. At least that is how it was seen in the eyes of the public: if with every new conviction by the higher courts Seselj's sentence was more moderate, then the responsibility of the lower courts for being too severe seemed greater.

#### "Criminal Material"

Following these verdicts in reverse order, from the last to the first, we will observe that the different paragraphs and the greater or lesser severity in pronouncing sentence are mainly related to the same "criminal material," in lay terminology, or to almost the same "extent of criminal activity," as was

stated in the second verdict. In all three verdicts, Seselj was found guilty because he did the following:

a) He mailed his article "Answers to the Questionnaire-Interview 'What Is to Be Done?'" to Dusan Bogavac in Belgrade;

b) During 1983 and at the beginning of 1984, on several occasions at the Faculty of Political Sciences in Sarajevo, in his apartment and in the apartment of Nebojsa Tosic, he said that the self-management system should be changed because it was a mistake, that self-management was untenable, that there should be a different division into republics, that sociopolitical structures are subject to myth and corruption, that in Bosnia-Hercegovina intellectuals of Serbian nationality are persecuted much more, etc.;

c) On several occasions in 1982 and 1983, during casual meetings at the Faculty of Political Sciences with Drage Cuckovic, he said that the LC had been bureaucratized, that power centers made decisions for the state and that the country was led by direct leaders, that the situation could only be resolved by the progressive intelligentsia and not by the "tsars" who have strong villas and residences, that Comrade Tito also acted like a tsar and a power-holder, etc.;

d) In September 1982, on the Sarajevo-Belgrade train, he entered into a conversation with Slobodan Cvor, became acquainted with him, and in the course of the conversation said that in our society all of the ruling structures have become completely bureaucratized, that they are preventing further progress, and that self-management serves the ruling structures only to manipulate people and keep power in their own hands.

In explaining its verdict, the third one, the Federal Court found that "all the parts of the article that the accused sent to the witness Bogovac do not represent the performance of a criminal act." In fact, the Federal Court says that Seselj's article sent to Bogavac (it has not been proven that the latter received it) can be characterized as an attempt and not as a completed criminal act "in the scope of the expanded criminal act under article 133 paragraph 1 of the Criminal Code," with the exception of the following:

"The LC, through its entire history, (has) shown that it cannot tolerate any democratic discussion either within its ranks or within society, furthermore not even allowing freedom of thought (...), that the party ensured its dominance by demagogically citing representation of the historical and everyday political interests of the working class, and in practice acting precisely against those interests, that for this reason the proletariat must tear itself 'out of the deadly embrace' of its accused vanguard (...) and return to a society in which, together with other progressive forces, it will ensure a democratic and socialist order, that the LC is no longer capable of leading to social progress and the only progressive thing that it could do is to 'open up institutional possibilities for the manifestation and public expression of new social forces that could present an alternative program for renewal,' (...) that it is essential to find more suitable models and methods of socialist transformation that would cut off at the root everything that is worn out and obsolete, which the masses of the people are willing to do, but

that the 'present ruling regime is not willing to sacrifice the self-centered and selfish material interests of its members and consequently the reins of power must first be taken out of its hands.' (...) Thus, it should be deprived of power first politically and then economically (...) The LC has exhausted its historical possibilities, and today represents exclusively a factor of backwardness, while the Yugoslav communists only verbally opposed Stalin's concept of building socialism, but did an excellent job of 'maintaining' this practice and made it the main feature of sociopolitical relations, modifying it only in some superficial and secondary elements and wrappings, concealing it with an even thicker cloak of false, illusory conscience."

The Federal Court thus feels that by excluding these words of Seselj's, there is a reduction in the "criminal amount" of the act that Vojislav Seselj committed "in the attempt." The Federal Court, however, likewise finds that neither the indictment nor the original verdict contains a statement that Bogavac had received Seselj's letter and become acquainted with its contents, and so the second court thus went beyond the indictment and violated criminal procedure provisions. This sentence was thus also omitted from the final verdict.

#### "Incitement" or "Appeal"

Where Seselj acted verbally, in meetings with Cvor, Totic, and Cuckovic, the Federal Court also moderates his guilt. It furthermore does not accept the legal conclusion of the Supreme Court of Bosnia-Herzegovina that this was a question of "incitement" of the witnesses by Seselj (incitement to a criminal act is addressed to like-minded people, but the witnesses denied that they agreed with Seselj), and feels that it was instead an "appeal."

A step backward: the second verdict. The Supreme Court of Bosnia-Herzegovina, as the appellate court, found that by its excessive severity and legal understanding the original court, the District Court in Sarajevo, "violated the Criminal Code at the expense of the accused when it characterized the incriminating conduct as the criminal act of a counterrevolutionary threat to the social order." In reducing the real scope of Seselj's crime, the Supreme Court of Bosnia-Herzegovina noted that Vojislav Seselj had acted in two main ways: in writing and in speech (before others), "and these are literally the ways in which steps in the criminal act of hostile propaganda are carried out."

In shifting Seselj's activities from a much severer description to a different one, the Supreme Court of Bosnia-Herzegovina at the same time concluded that there is no essential (ontological) difference between the concepts of "inciting" and "appealing." "If one proceeded from the idea of a difference between these acts," the verdict of the Supreme Court of Bosnia-Herzegovina says, "one of its consequences would be that criminal proceedings would have to establish the genuine positions and ideas held in this area (privately) by the individuals toward whom the propaganda is directed, before it is attempted, and that investigation would have to enter the sphere of the freedom of thought and belief that is guaranteed by the constitution."

On the other hand, the Supreme Court of Bosnia-Herzegovina defends the legal conclusion that "it is not significant whether the perpetrator succeeded in imposing the ideas that he was spreading, or whether there were any prospects at all for him to succeed." The position of the Supreme Court of Bosnia-Herzegovina is that for the criminal act, the determination that hostile propaganda has been committed, it is sufficient that "only ideological preparation is involved -- the initiation of the process of winning over others ideologically." In other words, "even if the need of an attack on protected objects in accordance with the position or idea being spread is conceived very generally, there can be an appeal or incitement in the sense of this criminal act."

The Supreme Court of Bosnia-Herzegovina also cites other reasons justifying the reclassification of the crime and the reduction in the first sentence. In issuing the appellate verdict, the Supreme Court is also much milder in passing sentence; Seselj's guilt is considerably less than established by the District Court, and thus the defendant is spared four years in prison.

The remaining four years were more than cut in half by the third verdict of the Federal Court, and since Seselj has already spent about 15 months in prison, in the next 6-7 months he will "atone for" the rest of his guilt, which was established by the third verdict.

The judicial proceedings in regard to Seselj's guilt have thus ended. As NIN and this reporter wrote extensively about the first trial last July, all that is left is for the remainder of the last sentence to be served, since there can be no more trials: neither the prosecution nor the defense has anyone else to turn to, except possibly for a pardon.

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